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CHARTERHOUSE IN LONDON

Frontspiece.] HOWARD HOUSE: THE LONG GALLERY.

CHARTERHOUSE IN LONDON

MONASTERY, MANSION, HOSPITAL, SCHOOL

By GERALD S. DAVIES, M.A.

MASTER OF CHARTERHOUSE

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
1921

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DEDICATED

TO ALL

WHO

BEAR OR WHO HONOUR

THE NAME

CARTHUSIAN

PREFACE

I UNDERTOOK this history at the expressed wish of some Carthusians in the year of the Tercentenary of Thomas Sutton's Foundation, 1911. While doing so I knew well that there are many living Carthusians who, by reason of their literary capacity, are far more fitted for the task. But I also could not but know that a combination of opportunities had fallen to me which can never again happen to any man living or to come. These opportunities are the result of accident. I can claim no credit for them, but rather I recognise in them a duty which they impose upon me. For I was for nine years a Foundation Scholar in London, during which time I developed a love for the place and a zeal (not according to knowledge) for its traditions and antiquities. I was afterwards for nearly thirty-three years on the staff of the school at Godalming, during which time I was in constant touch with my friend, the Reverend Henry V. Le Bas, Preacher of Sutton's Hospital, who never failed to communicate to me every step by which he made clearer the topography of the monastery and of the mansion. He was, and I take this opportunity of recording my gratitude, my first trainer in a complicated study. Lastly, fortune has ordained that I should return to the home of my boyhood, as Master of Charterhouse, a post which naturally opens to me not a few doors which are closed to most others. These combined opportunities, stretching over the fifty-eight years of my Carthusian days, have enabled me to collect very much information, which from time to time has been revised, recast, verified, rejected, till the notebooks have swelled to many volumes. These

notes would be almost unintelligible, even if legible, to any other but myself. And I have therefore accepted the duty of arranging them into a coherent sequence while life is left to me.

To the advantages which I have recorded, and of which I fear I shall have made but an inadequate use, must be added that of having survived into a day when the unearthing of much entirely fresh material has enabled us to explain much which before was inexplicable, and to set right a great many errors into which the earlier writers, for lack of this material, inevitably fell. It may well be that the discovery of further material in the Record Office or elsewhere will fill many a gap which I have had to leave, and will add my own name to the list of those whose histories need correction. I have made it my endeavour to state nothing in positive terms for which I have not found authority. It would be impossible always to quote that authority without cumbering the page with footnotes. I have been careful also to try and give to such words as "undoubtedly," "probably," "possibly," their exact value in the scale, and where mere suggestion is used to let it be clearly seen as such. I cannot hope that I have fallen into no errors of my own, after correcting the errors of those that have gone before me. I can only claim that I have taken pains to avoid them. In writing the records of a place which in some shape has touched history either in the lives which were being lived within it, or in the lives of those that went forth from it on almost every day of its existence since 1349, it is inevitable that some mistakes will have crept in, certainly inevitable that many and many an interest should have been left out.

I have already expressed my debt to Mr. Le Bas. I owe cordial thanks to many another. To Mr. H. S. Wright, Assistant Receiver of Charterhouse, for help ungrudgingly given both in the Muniment Room and in the Record Office. To Dom Laurence Hendriks, author of the *London Charterhouse*, for many kindnesses. To Father P. N. Pepin, the Prior of Charterhouse, Parkminster, for his generous gift to me of the "Disciplina Ordinis Carthusiensis."

To Mr. H. M. Underdown (O.C.) and to Sir William St. John Hope for much useful guidance, and to many others who at home or abroad have in this way or in that given me the help without which this book would have been impossible.

GERALD S. DAVIES.

THE MASTER'S LODGE,
CHARTERHOUSE, LONDON.
July, 1914.

Postscript.—The gap between the date of the preface (1914) and the date of issue (1921) needs no explanation.

September, 1921.

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CHARTERHOUSE IN LONDON

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINAL SITE

In the first half of the fourteenth century the ground which Charterhouse afterwards covered was open space, regarded by the populace of London as common land. The distance in a straight line from the Gatehouse or Porter's Lodge to the nearest point of the City wall, near Christchurch, was a short half-mile. Between these two points, a little to the west, lay the Priory and Hospital of St. Bartholomew founded by Rahere, 1123; while to the north-west, and scarcely a long stone's throw from what was to be the Charterhouse boundary, lay the Priory of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, founded in 1100. Few other buildings of a permanent nature as yet existed outside the walls, but hard up against the Church of St. Bartholomew were clustered the booths and stores of Cloth Fair, which flourished under a monopoly granted by Henry II to the Florentine Arte di Calimala—the Guild of the Clothdressers and Dyers. Here every two years during several centuries was held the great fair where the matchless dyes of Florence were sold for English use. The open space in front of St. Bartholomew, known as the Smoothfield (Smithfield), and, indeed, the adjoining wastes and meadows, were the unclaimed playing fields of the already overcrowded yet small city. The lands towards the north had long been known as No-man's land, and appear in Domesday book as Naneman's land

with the value of 5 shillings payable to William, as once to Edward the Confessor. Here were held tournaments—none more notable than that of 1389. We are told how the ponds, Horsepond, Todwell, Loderswell, Foxwell, etc., now filled in, were used for watering the horses after the jousts. Horse races, foot races, games such as quintan and bowls, were played here. It was the resort also of horsedealers and copers. And the Smithfield Elms or Gallows served as the place of execution for the city. More to the north towards Iseldon (Islington) the land, full of natural springs, became more or less of a fen, or water meadows. These springs were destined to form thereafter, as we shall see, the water supply of Charterhouse.

In the year 1348 bubonic plague set foot upon the shores of England, not, indeed, for the first time, as is often said, for there had been an earlier outbreak in the sixth century. But this greater visitation, which came to be known in later years as the Black Death, was the first of the long and terrible series which did not end till 300 years had passed. Starting, it is agreed, from Southern Russia near or in the Crimea, it had already swept through Southern Europe. It had been specially rampant in 1348 at Avignon, where the papal court under Clement VI suffered severely. In July or August, 1348, it reached Melcombe Regis (Weymouth), in Dorset, then a great seaport, whither it had been probably brought by ship from Calais. A few months served to carry it through the western towns, Bristol, Gloucester, Wells. By the end of the year it had reached London, and by the end of January, 1349, it had paralysed the great town. There were at that date 120 parishes within the city walls, which included a space measuring about 2200 yards by 1156 only, and holding, according to the best authorities, a population of about 45,000. The churchyards, most of which were already some centuries old, were soon full to overflowing. The dead lay in the streets or were flung into the river. Three new burial-grounds were hastily opened. The first was near the House of the Nuns of St. Clare—a branch of the Franciscan (Minores) order—near the Tower, in

what is now known as "the Minories." Of this graveyard we have little record. It served its purpose but made no history. The other two, Pardon Churchyard, in Clerkenwell, and New Churche Hawe, next Smithfield (the two graveyards, as we shall see, adjoined), mark the beginnings of the history of Charterhouse.

CHAPTER II

PARDON CHURCHYARD *

THE plague, we are told, was at its worst in London from about Candlemas (Feb. 2) to Pentecost, 1349. In January or February Ralph de Stratford, Bishop of London from 1340 to 1354, bought from the Knights Hospitallers 3 acres of the land known as No-man's land lying " between the lands of the Abbot of Westminster and the lands of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem." The position of this plot is well known to us. It lies, though now thickly covered with buildings, in the angle formed by the crossing of St. John's Road and Clerkenwell Road (Wilderness Row). It became, in 1370, part of the estate of the Priory of Charterhouse, and, through all the changes of ownership which have befallen that estate, it has never been separated from it, and at this moment (1913) it is the property of the Governors of Sutton's Hospital.

About Candlemas, 1349, then, Ralph Stratford acquired this plot of 3 acres, to which he gave the name of Pardon Churchyard, surrounding it presently with a brick wall and building there a chapel, where masses might be said for the souls of the dead. This churchyard † continued in use for two hundred years for the burial of those who died of plague (from 1348 onwards till late in the seventeenth

* Our Pardon Churchyard must not be confused with the Pardon Churchyard of St. Paul's, which contained a chapel founded by Gilbert, father of Thomas à Becket, and a cloister painted with the Dance of Death. These were destroyed by the Protector, Edward, Duke of Somerset, and the stones were used in the building of Somerset House. (Dugdale, *Monast.*)

† A rude figure of this chapel is seen in the plan of the water supply to the monastery (date 1431, preserved in the Muniment room at Charterhouse).

century few years passed without some visitation, more or less serious), for suicides and for executed criminals. The bodies, Stow tells us, were carried thither in a close cart draped with black, having a plain white cross on it, and with a St. John's Cross in front, and with a bell which rang by the shaking of the cart for the warning of passers by. This cart was known as the Frarie or Friary Cart. The chapel had Privilege of Sanctuary.

The plan shows a small building rather high for its length and breadth, having two tall gable ends and a flêche bearing a large cross halfway along the ridge, with a large window at the east end and two similar windows on the north. It must, however, not be appealed to for more than a general resemblance of this historical little building.

Pardon Churchyard became, after the foundation of the monastery, the freehold of the Carthusian monks, and so remained till the suppression. But, by agreement between the Priories of Charterhouse and of St. John, it was in the hands of the latter, who provided for its service and appointed the Frairie Clerk, or priest of the chapel. Thus, early in the sixteenth century, Sir Thomas Docwra, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, signs a deed appointing one Travers to the office; and again in 1522 (Sept. 18) one Corrall succeeds him. This fact has misled some writers into the belief that Pardon Churchyard belonged to St. John's Priory. But the explanation must be sought in the conditions of the Carthusian Rule. A Carthusian monk, living in entire seclusion from the world, does not undertake any ministry outside his own cloister, save in exceptional instances. He does not serve mass, nor preach sermons, nor visit the sick, nor bury the dead, save by special exception. It would be an unheard-of thing for a monk of the order to become the chaplain of a cemetery such as Pardon Churchyard. That may be said to be the general rule. But in the case of our Charterhouse it had been found necessary at the visitation of 1405 * for the visitors to prohibit the monks expressly from even going to meet

* M.S.M.I.

the bodies of those who were brought to the cemetery of Charterhouse Yard (Square) at the outer gate, so strict was the view upon the point. Hence, the service of Pardon Churchyard was, in like manner, as that of Charterhouse Square, left to other hands.

After the Suppression Pardon Churchyard formed part of the grant of the monastery made by the Crown to Sir Edward North in 1545. The latter, now Lord North, in 1558, gave a lease of it to Thomas Parry * and his wife, and in 1565 conveyed it, with the rest of the suppressed priory, to Thomas Howard, Fourth Duke of Norfolk, from whom it passed to his son, Philip, Earl of Arundel. After the attainder of the latter, 1589, it reverted to the Crown, and Queen Elizabeth granted a lease of it to Thomas Goodison.† It was part of the grant of the Queen to Admiral Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, in 1596, and again of James I in 1604 to the same nobleman, from whom in turn it passed to Thomas Sutton.

Already in 1598 Stow wrote of it: "The chapel is now enlarged, and this burying plot is become a fayre garden retayning the old name." It is noticeable that the price put upon it when North sold it to Norfolk was £320. After Sutton's day, while Clerkenwell was still a pleasant place of residence, it had successive occupants of good position, but it followed the descending fortunes of its neighbourhood. We learn from Maitland that in 1739 the quoins of the old chapel were still to be seen in the four corners of the dwelling-house. All trace of chapel and churchyard have long ago disappeared, though from time to time when the ground has been opened, as in 1820 and 1834, and probably whenever a foundation has been dug, the evidences of its old uses are brought to light. A blacksmith's shop and a Baptist Chapel successively marked the site of Pardon Chapel, which to-day must be sought some 100 yards from the west end of Great Sutton Street, the sad and sorry thoroughfare which now runs under one name from St. John's Street to Goswell Street, but which formerly its eastern half bore the name of Swan

* C.H. Mun : R. † C.H. Mun : R.

Alley. It was here that, according to Defoe, the later plague of 1666 found its worst material amongst the wretched habitations, forty-three in number, which had grown up there around Swan Alley Market.

The very name of Pardon Churchyard has now passed away. But long since the eastern portion of Clerkenwell, which runs along the north wall of Charterhouse, was still allowed to retain its name of Wilderness Row, and to remind us of the time when the white monks wandered here in their wild garden among their rose trees and their rosemaries. And in the writer's own school days the western end of Wilderness Row narrowed just at its juncture with St. John's Street to a mere passage, closed by a bar, which still bore the name of Pardon Passage. The name is found in Wyld's Map of 1825 in the British Museum. It has seemed well to trace the history of this interesting appendage of Charterhouse, because hitherto hardly a writer from Stow onwards has failed to confuse it at some point with Charterhouse Churchyard (Square), and even with New Churche Hawe, *i.e.* the monastery itself, to which we may now proceed.

CHAPTER III

NEW CHURCHE HAWE (THE MONASTERY)

THE third burial-ground which was opened to meet the need of London in the Black Death in 1349 was the Spital Croft or New Churche Hawe, which twenty-three years later, in 1371, was to become the House of the Salutation of the Mother of God—otherwise called Charterhouse. It is at this point that a certain manuscript in the Record Office becomes of predominant value to us. It has strangely escaped the notice of previous historians of the place; yet without reference to it many of the difficulties connected with earlier history of the monastery could not have been set at rest.*

The MS. is clearly a compilation from documents belonging to the monastery, made by a monk who seems to have done his work during the last thirty years of the fifteenth century, since the last event recorded by him is of the date 1481. The authorship is, of course, unknown. The name of the learned Carthusian writer, Father Rock, who was in the London cloister about that time, naturally suggests itself. Dom Hendriks mentions that doubts have been felt whether Father Rock is not really one and the same as Dom Richard Roche, who became prior about 1488. In the list of priors given in this MS. the last prior named is John Walfingham (or Walsyngham ?), who died in 1487 or 1488. Richard Roche resigned his post as prior in 1500, but remained in the cloister as

* I owe my own knowledge of its existence to the kindness of Sir W. St. John Hope. The MS. is 61 in the Chartularies of Charterhouse. It will be referred to in this volume as M.S.M.I.=Manuscriptum Monachi Ignoti.

vicar till 1512. He can hardly, therefore, be the compiler, since his leisure after his retirement would have been ample for the completion of his task, unless, indeed, we suppose that he began it quite late in his life, and that death overtook him before he had got beyond the events of 1481. In such case, however, it is hard to explain why in his list of priors he should have omitted the name of Prior Tynbygh, who succeeded him. The authorship, indeed, must remain uncertain. The question is interesting but not important. What is important is to know that the MS. may be trusted; that wherever its statements as to a historical fact * can be tested they stand the test; and that by comparison of its account with the facts given to us by other contemporary documents, we are able at last to shape a fairly coherent description of the origins of the monastery.

Let us return to the year 1349. We have seen how Bishop Ralph de Stratford came to the rescue of his fellow citizens by the gift of Pardon Churchyard. At the same moment, or a few weeks later, Sir Walter de Manny, with the same pious intention, negotiated with the Master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital for a close or croft of land lying north-east † of St. Bartholomew's, between it and Pardon Churchyard aforesaid. This plot was 13 acres 1 rood in extent. It was known as the "Spital Croft," and as soon as the little chapel or church presently to be mentioned was built upon it, it became the "New churche hawe." Of this croft 3 acres or so remained as Charterhouse Churchyard, or Charterhouse Yard, now Charterhouse Square, after the monastery in

* Readers who refer to the original MS. will find a certain number of recitals of miraculous apparitions and legends. It must be said with regard to these that their entire removal in no way interferes with the historical value of the rest of the MS. We may be content to adopt the sensible attitude of the Carthusian, Dom Hendriks, in similar cases. (See *The London Charterhouse*, p. ix.)

† The distance from the nearest point of Charterhouse Square to the north porch of St. Bartholomew's Church is less than 200 yards. The rough roadway, now Long Lane, a continuation of the Barbican, lay between, a branch of the Fleet ditch wandering on the north of the highway from Aldersgate Street to Fleet Street. This ditch is covered in.

1371 had absorbed and enclosed the other 10 acres and a rood. The terms on which Manny acquired the land are thus stated * :—

" And first they agreed that the said Lord should have the said land to rent for 12 marks the year. Until he should have caused another property worth 20 marks the year to be conveyed to them in exchange for the said land, and that they would pray for him and his and thus he held the said croft with its belongings until the year of our Lord 1370 when he caused to be conveyed to them in exchange for the land aforesaid [Spital Croft] the Manor of Sereclegh in the county of Kent."

Spital Croft was dedicated as a burial-ground by Ralph Stratford in honour of the Holy Trinity and the Communication of the Virgin Mary (the Salutation of the Mother of God), apparently at Candlemas, Feb. 2, 1349. But seven weeks and three days later, on Lady Day, Mar. 25, the same Bishop, with the Mayor of London, John Lewkyn, or Lovekyn, the sheriffs, the aldermen, and many others, nearly all barefooted, came in procession; and on that day Sir Walter de Manny laid the foundation of a chapel which twenty-three years later became the Conventual Chapel, at the foundation of the monastery. The Bishop's address, we are told, was upon the text " Ave." †

This chapel, whose eastern and northern walls still exist beneath the modern panels, passed in 1611 into the hands of Sutton's Governors, and, with many alterations and additions, has been the chapel of the hospital since that time.

The provision thus made by Manny for the burial of the dead of the plague was sorely needed by the stricken city. We may, indeed, set aside as impossible—all the best authorities are agreed on the point—the figures loosely given and as loosely repeated by the chroniclers of that day.

Stow, writing late in the sixteenth century, tells us that he had seen in Charterhouse Yard (Square) a stone cross with an inscription stating that in the year 1349,

* Ch.M.S. † M.S.M.I.

while the pestilence ruled, more than 50,000 bodies were buried there or within the bounds of the monastery, besides many others "up to the present time." Camden quotes from the same inscription 40,000. The M.S.M.I. says 60,000, but does not confine the burials to any single year. There is, of course, nothing to show the date at which the cross was erected. It may have been long after the event, the mere echo of earlier exaggeration. For Creighton, Gasquet, and others have established it that in 1349 the entire population within the walls of London could not have exceeded 45,000. We know also that the plague of 1349 attacked mainly the adults of the artisan and labouring classes, making little havoc amongst women and children, and sparing, with a few exceptions,* the rich and well-to-do. In a population of 45,000 considerably more than half would be women and children. We have, therefore, to conclude that 25,000 victims would be a liberal estimate, and not all found their rest in Spital Croft. Even so, however, the figures are sufficiently appalling.

The plague was at its worst from Candlemas (Feb. 2) to Pentecost, says William of Avebury, after which it died away, and by January, 1350, it was at an end in London. In 1361 came a second furious outburst, known as "pestis secunda," or "pestis puerorum," because it chose its victims largely from the young. In the years, however, which intervened between these two outbursts, danger seeming to be past, a scheme was formed for founding on Spital Croft, or New Church Hawe, either a Carthusian monastery or some other foundation consisting of thirteen priests. The scheme seems to have been due to Michael de Northburgh, who became Bishop of London on Stratford's death in 1355. Northburgh, who, as Edward's counsellor and secretary in the French wars, had seen much of Carthusian monasteries abroad, especially that of Paris, had formed a very high opinion of the order. He was himself a Dominican. Probably Manny had had similar opportunities of forming an opinion. There was,

* Amongst the exceptions was the Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in August six days after landing from Avignon.

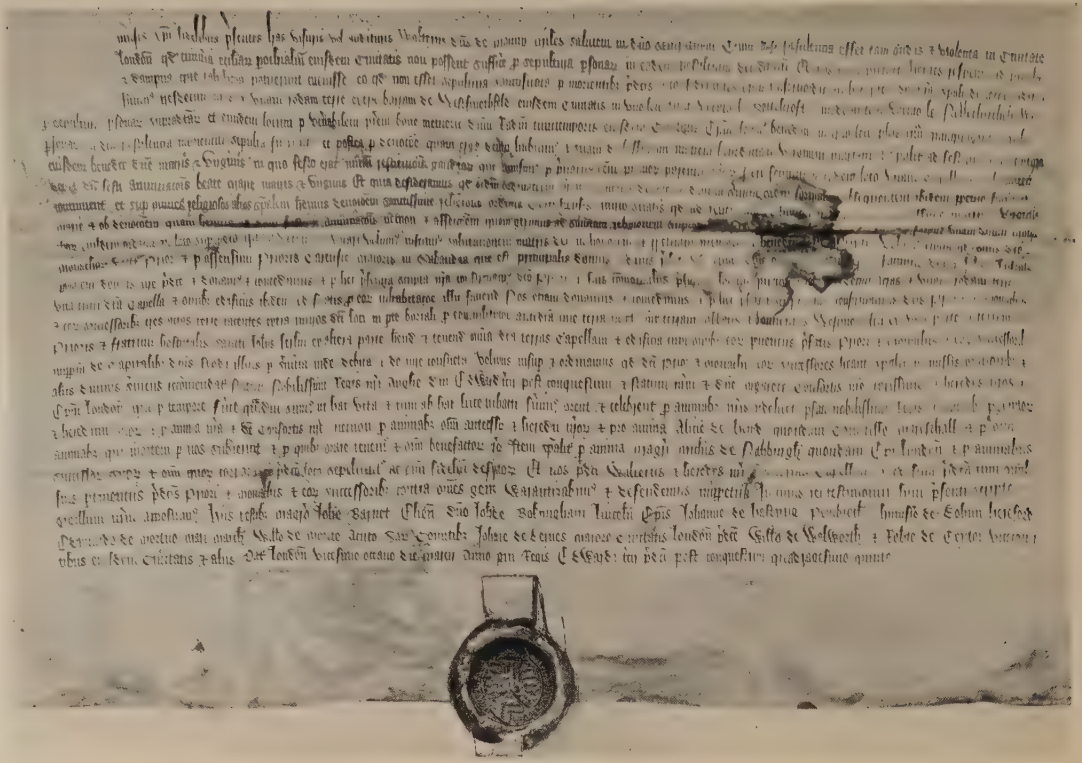
moreover, a peculiar fitness in handing over to the care of that order the soil wherein so many had found burial, since it is to the Carthusian order above all orders that prayers and service for the souls of the dead pertain as part of their daily ministry. The preference both of Manny and Northburgh was, therefore, clearly for a foundation of the Carthusian order, but the indenture entered into between them—which is so important that it must be quoted at length—points to an alternative foundation of another order and provides special clauses for such an alternative.

" In the name of Jesus Amen. This is the agreement made between the Reverend Father in God Dan Michael de Northburg by the Grace of God Bishop of London and Sir W de Mauny Lord of Mauny : and it is to this effect that the said W received of the said Lord Bishop as his first associate after himself for the foundation and advowson and building of the Church of the Salutation of Our Lady outside London beside Smithfield which was begun to be built on the day of the Salutation of Our Lady in the year of Grace 1349 according to English use to build there a perpetual Carthusian Convent of thirteen priests of that order if it can well be done and if not of another order as they may agree or of a lesser number to endure for all time to celebrate and say daily for their two selves aforesaid and for Dame Margaret Marechall Lady of Mauny wife of the said William * and for their children and successors in general of this blood and for the souls of all their ancestors of whom they have come as well as for those who pertain to the said Bishop and for all parents † friends and benefactors of both parties and for all those living and dead for whom both parties are bound to pray or cause prayer and also specially for the souls of all whose bodies are or are to be buried there.

" Also it was agreed to this effect that the beginning of that foundation was during the pest which was in the aforesaid year and is in the present [year 1361] to bury

* An obvious slip for Walter. Sir William de Manny, brother of Sir Walter, was, however, buried in the monastery.

† " Parents " used in the ancient sense of relations at large, as it is still used in Italy.



THE CHARTER OF SIR WALTER DE MANNY

there in the cemetery the bodies of all Christians and specially of the City of London, who may wish to be buried there both of rich and poor and both outside and on account of the pest but specially on account of it. And it was agreed that while the said Michael and Walter are alive the said Walter during his lifetime ought to be the first founder, patron, and protector and the said Michael the Bishop his next associate as is aforesaid. And they ought to do by our consent and assent all that pertains to the said foundation building and property and all those things that patrons and protectors ought to do for those who are in England. And after the death of the said Walter the said Dan Michael of Norbury and the assigns of the said Bishop ought to have the patronage and advowson for all time for ever. And that neither Margery Mareschall wife of the said Walter nor their children nor heirs nor any other through them shall be able to claim any share in the advowson or patronage of the said church except that they shall be first after the said Walter and the Bishop in all masses memorials prayers orisons and hours. And also that all those and those who are and shall be of their offspring or of their own proper blood issuing from their bodies can choose for themselves or through these fit places when they please for each one according to his estate for their burial both inside the chancel as in the body of the church or in other places pertaining to the church and the said Bishop undertakes himself or will undertake from this time all burdens which are upon the place and will free the said Walter and his heirs both spiritual and temporal and of all those things there that ought to be made a perpetual memorial remaining in the said church. Dated at London the 9th day of May in the year of Grace 1361." *

The provision of this indenture with regard to the patronage and advowson is clearly inserted in case the foundation should not be of the Carthusian order. For a Carthusian monastery there could be no patronage or advowson vested in any bishop. The prior is elected by his brother monks, the election being subject to confirmation by the general chapter of the Grande Chartreuse. The

* M.S.M.I.

document makes clear the relative shares of Manny and Northburgh in the foundation which has hitherto been little understood.

The indenture signed, Northburgh seems at once to have summoned the Priors * of Witham and of Hinton, the two Somersetshire Charterhouses, to confer with him in London. But on their return journey the Prior of Hinton died at Salisbury,† and the Prior of Witham (St. Hugh's Priory) soon after reaching his home, whether of plague or other illness is not told us. Northburgh himself died of plague on Sept. 9, 1361, and was buried near the west porch of St. Paul's. His will, made on May 23, 1361, had left many mixed bequests—his entire suit of armour, his Bible, his beaker called a "Katherine," his cope and mitre to his successor in the see. But the passage which concerns our foundation runs as follows :—

"Further I leave the sum of 2000£ for the foundation of a house according to the ritual of the Carthusian Order in a place commonly called Newe Churche Hawe where there is a church of the Annunication of the B.V. Mary which place and patronage I acquired from Sir Walter de Manny : and I leave the said house when complete divers basins for use at the High Altar,‡ a silver vessel enamelled for containing the Host ; my best silver Stoup for the holy water with sprinkler silver bell etc as well as all my rents and tenements in London."

Bereft of its prime mover, the scheme lay fallow for a while. Manny, now getting old, was also seriously busy with the calls of war both in France and England, and had lost the man to whom probably, as a soldier, he had left the details better suited to a Churchman. But the new Prior of Hinton, John Luscote or Lustote, inspired, no doubt, by his predecessor, warmly espoused the scheme,

* We do not know their names. In the lists of Priors of Witham and Hinton there is a large gap just at this period, and neither name is recorded.

† M.S.M.I.

‡ These were the vessels which were removed by Thomas Cromwell at the Suppression. The will with the fragment of Northburgh's seal attached is among the archives of St. Paul's.

and a few years later went to London to press the cause. But he met with the strongest opposition in high ecclesiastical quarters, especially from the Bishop and Chapter of Ely, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and the Master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.* But in an interview with Simon of Sudbury, Bishop of London, at Chelmsford, he so completely prevailed, that that bishop shortly overrode all objections, and, in 1370, Manny applied to the General Chapter (of the Grande Chartreuse) for licence to build the Monastery of the Salutation of the Mother of God near London. At Ascensiontide of that year John Luscote as Rector (the title of Prior not belonging to an unfinished Charterhouse) entered with his brother monks into possession of the temporary buildings prepared for them. Manny, about the same time, enfeoffed the prior (Luscote) after having, as before explained, exchanged the Manor of Sereclough in Kent for the freehold of New Church Hawe. The names of the first monks whom Luscote gathered to people the first cells of this celebrated priory are recorded as follows :—

Prior John Luscote, from God's Place of Hinton; John Gryssely, "redditus," presently ordained priest; Dan John Borehulke, monk-priest from Witham; Dan John Netherbury, monk-priest from Witham; Dan Guy de Burgh, monk-priest of Beauvale; Dan Thomas Shirley, monk-priest of Beauvale; Dan Roger Axelbrugg, monk-priest of Hinton; Brother Benedict, a lay brother from Hinton.

At this point we meet with a name of great interest in connection with the building of the monastery. It is stated in Conder's *Hole Art of Masonry*, and by other writers, that Henry Yevele was concerned in the early buildings of the monastery, but no references being given to any original documents, it seemed as if the statements rested on tradition merely. But in the M.S.M.I. occurs the following passage: "In the same year (1371) about

* An anchorite woman living near the church is also mentioned as a special thorn in the side to John Luscote. M.S.M.I.

the feast of the Ascension of our Lord the said Lord de Manny and the said Prior made an agreement with Henry Revell for building the first cell and beginning the great cloister to the fabric of which the said Lord gave 100£ and laid the foundation." The MS. is obviously a transcript made in late fifteenth or early sixteenth century from earlier original documents, and the transcriber seems to have read the Yevele of the earlier MS. as Revell. It is worth remarking that other authors seem to have had recourse to some document in which there was a difficulty in deciphering the leading letter of the name, since it has even been written in error Zevele.* There is no practical doubt that the Henry Revell of the M.S.M.I. is no other than Henry Yevele, the master mason, master mason hewer (architect and sculptor in modern terms), who stood foremost amongst English architects of his age. Born perhaps in 1320, he was at this time at his prime. Already he was King's master mason to Edward III for Windsor and the Tower. A little later we find him the sculptor of the marble work, with Stephen Lote, of the tomb of Archbishop Langham (*d.* 1376) in Westminster Abbey. Professor Lethaby † assigns to him, with good reason, the tomb there of Edward III (*d.* 1377); while it is quite certain that he, once more with Lote, was in 1394 the sculptor of the noble tomb which Richard II set up, close to that of Edward III, for himself and his dead wife Anne of Bohemia. Yevele had in 1383 a share in the Bridge of Stroud. But most of all he is to be remembered as the director (in 1388) and designer (probably) of the new nave of Westminster Abbey, and in 1395, at the end of his life, as responsible for the work in the roof of Westminster Hall. One sees, therefore, how natural it was that such a man, highly valued at the Court, should have been called in by Manny to do the work at the monastery, which was to be his everlasting memorial, and in which he designed to be laid to rest. Yevele's work, though it fell at the moment when the Decorated Style was passing

* It is found as Yevele, Zevele, Revell, Eveleigh, Ivelighe.
† See Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and its Craftsmen*.

into Perpendicular, was, for its time, severely simple, and therefore well suited to an order whose hall-mark was in all things simplicity. A few time-worn stones, and still more time-worn doorways and hatches, are all that are left to us of Yevele's work. They tell us nothing of his arcade around the Great Cloister, nor of the cells, nor of aught else that came from his design in Charterhouse. These all passed away at the Suppression. They went forth in the shape of those loads of stone which went as loot to the share of Layton * and his fellows, or took new form in the great mansion that presently rose out of their ruins.

Late in 1371, then, the first few permanent cells were sufficiently advanced for occupation. The chapel, which, as we have seen, had been built in 1349 for non-Carthusian uses, now became the conventual church. For several other essential features of a Carthusian monastery John Luscote and his monks were to wait for many years. He now became formally prior by the act of the General Chapter of the Order. Manny's charter had been signed on Mar. 28 of that year, and the foundation had received the licence of Edward III on Feb. 6 in the same year, from which, of course, the true history of the monastery dates. The burial-ground of New Churche Hawe, passing for ever from its original purpose, had now become a Carthusian monastery under the name of The House of the Salutation of the Mother of God near London.

* See the Report of William Daylle, 1538, in the Record Office. State Papers, 30 Henry VIII $\frac{U}{315}$.

CHAPTER IV

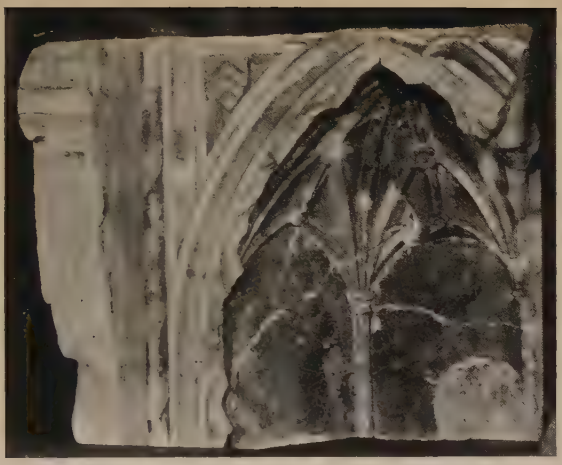
SIR WALTER DE MANNY—BISHOP MICHAEL DE NORTHBURGH

About Jan. 15, 1372, a few months after his monastery had taken shape with its first cells on the west side * of the Great Cloister, its "first founder" was laid to rest at the foot of the high altar of the little chapel, which already in the twenty-three years of its existence was so fully stored with memories. His will bears date some six weeks earlier, St. Andrew's Day (Nov. 30) of 1371. It contains these words :—

"My body to be buried at God's pleasure but if it may be in the midst of the quire of the Carthusians called Our Lady near West Smithfield in the suburbs of London of my foundation but without any great pomp and I will that my executors cause 20 masses to be said for my soul and that every poor person coming to my funeral shall have a penny to pray for me and for the remission of my sins."

Then follow some of the rich picturesque touches which lend such a colour to wills of that date. We read of a girdle of gold, of a hook for his mantle, of a garter of gold (the order of the Garter), of knives and beds and dossers, "except my folding bed [his camp bed ?] paly of blue and red [his bearings] which I bequeath to my daughter of Pembroke [Margaret Plantagenet, wife of John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke]." Then once more a reference to his foundation.

* The door and hatch of one of these cells (B) still remains. The hatch of a second cell (C) is also visible, and, not without question, I can trace the portion of cell (D).



FRAGMENT OF MANNY'S TOMB. 1372.

AUMBRY ON EAST WALL: MONASTERY CHURCH. 1349–1371.

"Also I will that a tomb of alabaster with my image as a knight and my arms thereon shall be made for me like unto that of Sir John Beauchamp in St. Paul's in London. I will that prayers be said for me and for Alice de Henalt Countess Marshal. And whereas the King oweth me an old debt of 1000 pounds by bills of his wardrobe I will that if it can be obtained it shall be given to the Prior and Monks of the Charterhouse. And whereas there is due to me from the Prince [the Black Prince] from the time he has been Prince of Wales, the sum of C marks per annum for my salary as Governor of Hardelagh [Harlech] Castle I bequeath one half thereof to the monks and Prior of the Charterhouse and the other half to executors of my will."

Manny's wish was carried out, and on the day when the best and bravest of Edward's knights was lowered to his rest, there stood about the grave the King himself and all the King's children, and the chief of the Barons and nobility of England. John of Gaunt, his friend and comrade in arms—doubtless also present—gave to the monastery wherewith to pay for 500 masses for the dead soldier's soul. Dame Margaret Brotherton (Plantagenet), his wife, was at a later date also buried in the chapel, we know not where. So, too, his brother Sir William de Manny. The tombs of one and all vanished at the Suppression. Taking the clue from Manny's will we are able to conjecture the design of his own tomb from a rude woodcut in Dugdale of the tomb of Sir John Beauchamp, which perished in the fire of London. That woodcut shows us a recumbent figure on a table tomb with a canopy above. A few years ago a workman repairing the front of the Registrar's House (Long Gallery of Howard House) towards the entry court, removed a stone which proved, when its interior surface was seen, to be a portion of the canopy of Manny's tomb, preserving, by good fortune, one of the shields with Manny's arms.* No doubt many like fragments from the monastery were built by North and Norfolk into the walls of their mansion.

* The fragment is preserved in Charterhouse Chapel.

Walter de Manny * was a native of Hainault, fourth of the five sons of Jean le Borgne de Masny, and of Jeanne de Jeulain. Masny is now a village some 20 kilometers east of Douai, lying a little south of Montigny-en-Estrevent, a station on the line between Douai and Valenciennes. Jeulain is a village east of the latter town. The Lords of Masny claimed descent from the Counts of Hainault, and Walter, as an esquire of Isabella, seems to have come over with her in 1327, when she arrived to be the bride of Edward III. From that time forward as the devoted vassal of his master, he became more English than the English, and his name stood in the records of his day as the type of all chivalry and gallantry. It is said, indeed, that his deeds lost nothing in their recording at the hands of his fellow-countryman Froissart of Valenciennes, to whose Iliad he was a very Achilles. "Mon livre est moult renluminé de ses prouesses," says the old chronicler; and if even the testimony of two other fellow-countrymen, Jean le Bel and Jean de Kleerk, be also discounted, there remains enough behind in the mere list of his enterprises, and still more in the honour in which he was held by the King and his fighting Court, to place Manny in the foremost place among English knights of a knightly age.

Already, in 1331, he had been knighted, and from that time forward to the end of an unwearied and strenuous life his days were spent, with few intervals, in the wars of his master. It is not within the scope of this book to give a detailed account of a career involving so much history. The merest record must suffice with here and there some dwelling on the most notable incidents of a life so picturesque. We find him in 1332 joined with Edward Balliol in his attempt upon Scotland, and presently besieging Berwick.† A little later he was in Wales to hold

* The name appears in many shapes: Maunay, Mauny, Masny, Mannay, Manney, Manny. The spelling on the French ordinance map is Masny. I have, as a rule, adhered to the accepted, though less correct, English spelling. Since the above was written the tide of war has swept over the lands of Masny.

† It is a coincidence that both Manny and Thomas Sutton should have earned early distinction as soldiers in different ages at Berwick-on-Tweed.

Harlech Castle for the King. It will be remembered that his unpaid salary for that service appears as a bequest to the monastery in his will. In 1337 he is Admiral of the Fleet north of the Thames, and earning fame by the capture of Cadzand off the mouth of the Scheldt. It is here that he is accused by one historian * of "Sœvitia" in dealing with the garrison. Other sea ventures followed, but in 1339 we find him ashore in France at the head of forty lances and sweeping through Brabant and Hainault; and so, after a two-years' campaign with Edward, once more at sea and helping largely by his gallantry to win at Sluys in June, 1340. The battle, fought still after the manner of Salamis or Actium, with boarding stages and pikemen, was of a kind well suited to tell in favour of personal valour, and had little enough of seamanship about it, but it stands nevertheless as perhaps the first really important English naval victory since the days of the Danes. It was, with his other achievements at sea, doubtless the cause of his being chosen in 1342 to take a fleet to Hennebont in South Brittany, where the Countess Jeanne de Montfort was heroically defending the town against Louis of Spain.

Froissart's description of the arrival, long retarded, of the English fleet when hope had almost left the garrison—of the quixotic sortie that very same night made after supper by Manny and his comrades, with the sequel of the return to the walls as the morning dawned, and of the great kissing of all the warriors by the heroic Jeanne, make up a picture which is but one of many that come to us out of those romantic pages. Then follows another naval victory at Quimperlé, and a great campaign with much castle taking and more brave doings. In 1345 he is under the banner of the Earl of Derby in Gascony, and it is here that he is once more charged with cruel vengeance on the garrison of Mirepoix.† Froissart does not record it, but says that the Earl of Derby treated the inhabitants as was due from a merciful conqueror. Manny may, indeed, have sunk on some occasion to the level of the warfare of his

* Adamus Murimuthensis, called Murimuth.
† Chroniques Abregees, Letterhove.

day—for chivalry to the conquered was by no means the hall-mark of war in Europe at that day when such men as Hawkwood and Sir Robert Knolles led their freelances amongst the villages of Italy and France. But the testimony, in the case of Manny, is but slight at best, and the charge fits ill with his character. It is pleasanter to turn to the episode which seems to be historical and by which Manny's name has come down to us in its best light when he withstood Edward III—who, like his son the Black Prince, suffered from occasional moods of savage cruelty—and bade him remember, as Eustace de St. Pierre and the other burghers of Calais stood before him awaiting the death which he decreed, that it would soil his knightly fame for ever if he put to death defenceless men whom he had taken prisoners. It is true that Manny is said to have failed where Queen Isabella presently succeeded. But if the story be true it is hard to understand how Manny could have used that argument if he was himself almost fresh from a similar vengeance at Mirepoix.

Froissart tells a pleasant story of how, after Calais had been taken by the English under Manny, Edward III and the Black Prince put themselves under his banner in a night sortie full of deeds of prowess. And so the wonderful life goes forward from romance to romance at home and abroad, with deeds of quixotic personal bravery, and more solid, if less fascinating, enterprises of national utility. He is found as fighter, ambassador, governor of a district, in Brittany, Hainault, Herefordshire. He raises the siege of Berwick in 1355—six years after his purchase of Newchurch Hawe *—goes in October, 1359, with Edward to harry France—is made a Knight of the Garter, and receives that same day from his friend the Black Prince the pretty present of a grisell (grey) palfrey. He is still in France, guarding the captive King John at Calais when the time was drawing near for Northburgh to make decision concerning the

* The Bull of Clement VI originally granting licence to Manny to found a college for twelve priests and a chaplain is of the year 1361. This plan was, as we have seen, dropped in favour of a Carthusian monastery.

foundation of the monastery—and he appears to have been in France in 1361 when the Bishop made his will, and had his interview with the two Carthusian priors. The remaining ten years of his life were still to know no rest. Hither and thither on this duty or on that for the making of war or the finishing of peace, he serves his last campaign in 1369 under John of Gaunt in France, comes back to take charge once more for a year of Merioneth Castle, performs the sorry task of signing the commission for inquiry into the reputed cruel deeds of his once comrade in arms, the Black Prince, and so to his grave in the quiet chapel of the monks of his foundation, where day by day for endless years prayers were to be put up for the soul of a very noble not entirely faultless man.

He married the Lady Margaret Brotherton, the daughter and heiress of Thomas of Brotherton, fifth son of Edward I. She was widow of John, Earl of Segrave, and was by her own right, as heiress of her father, Countess Marshall and Countess of Norfolk, becoming in her second widowhood Duchess of Norfolk by creation. There were two children by this marriage, but the eldest, a son, Thomas, was drowned at Deptford, while the daughter, the Lady Anne, born in 1355, married at the age of thirteen, John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke.

Of Michael de Northburgh we know little till before the beginning of his life as a cleric, when preferment followed fast upon preferment. We find him as prebendary in Lichfield Diocese, of Tachbrook, Wolvey, Longden; in Lincoln, of Banbury; in York, of Bugthorpe, and of Strensall; in Salisbury, of Netherbury and of Lyme; in St. Paul's, of Mapesbury. He was Archdeacon of Chester and of Suffolk; Canon of Hereford—with various other benefices and appointments held concurrently or consecutively. It was not till 1345 that he seems to have achieved the ambition of so many Churchmen of the day and found employment at the hands of the King. Edward sent him as an envoy to Pope Clement VI, concerning the marriage of the Black Prince with a daughter of the Duke of

Brabant, which, on the ground of relationship, needed papal dispensation. He seems to have pleased the King, for next year, 1346, Edward took him with him as counsellor on his French campaign. In 1351 he became Edward's secretary, and after fulfilling various charges, and acting as ambassador on important occasions, he was in 1354 made Bishop of London. The remaining seven years of his life were as before spent largely in foreign embassies and negotiations. He seems, indeed, to have been the typical bishop of his day, compelled to share largely in every secular employment, even, as his will shows, to the wearing of armour when he followed the King on his campaigns—a life strangely unlike that to which he set the seal of his approval when he became the second founder of the monastery of the silent monks in New Church Hawe.

We have already dealt with his share in the foundation of our Charterhouse—a great one from the point of view of inspiration and of influence—a share without which Manny's project might easily have fallen to the ground in the press of many absorbing interests. We have spoken also of his will, of his death of plague at Copford in Essex in the very year when his project seemed ripe, and of his burial near the west porch of his own cathedral. It remains only to say some few words as to the reasons which impelled Manny and Northburgh, himself a Dominican, to their choice of the Carthusian order for their foundation.

Apart from the fact that to that order belonged in a special degree the duties of prayer for the dead, there was probably to these two men a very special attraction also in the calm and repose of Carthusian monasteries and in the saintly and unworldly lives that were lived within them. These two men, the layman and the Churchman, had known little of restfulness in their own lives, and they had been in touch with the world, if sometimes at its best yet most often at its worst. War and rapine with their forerunners and their aftermath of diplomacy and intrigue had been the lot of both. They came perhaps well out of it for what it was, but if we take the view, as we are entitled to take it, that all charge of cruelty in the case of Manny must

be held to be non-proven, yet for him as for Northburgh the thought of the life behind them must have been scarred by many a memory of what they had seen when unhappy France was being laid in ashes in the cause of the Plantagenets. They had had to join hands and share the results of men such as Knolles, whose track was marked by the burnt homesteads which obtained the name for their ruined gables of " Knolles' Mitres." * In the midst of all this misery, in which their own part was certainly a worthier one, redeemed by some higher sense of chivalry, they had met at Paris, at Amiens, at Avignon, and elsewhere in France, the quiet simplicity of Carthusian life, which must indeed have seemed like heaven in the midst of hell. Manny in so many words expressed as part of the purpose of his foundation that prayers should daily go up thence not for his own soul alone but for those who had died through him. And the monk's manuscript so often quoted declares that Northburgh's choice was due to what he had seen of the lives of the Carthusians when he sought quiet retreat amongst them on his way through Paris from the wars. It remains for the next chapter to give some insight into the manner of this same Carthusian life in our own or any other Charterhouse.

* Knolles—" the old Brigand " founded one of the cells of Charterhouse: see M.S.M.I.

CHAPTER V

ST. BRUNO AND THE CARTHUSIAN ORDER

The Carthusian order was founded by Bruno of Cologne in the year 1084. It does not come, one must say once more, within the scope of this book to attempt a detailed account of his life. A brief outline must suffice. And, indeed, the materials for a biography are so few that they hardly enable us, read we ever so sympathetically between the lines, to construct a personality from them. It is comparatively easy to bring near to ourselves the warm and human figure of a St. Francis, but the figure of St. Bruno comes to us more stately and more shadowy through the added mist of two earlier centuries, with something of that statuesque silence, the finger on the lips, which Houdon embodied in the noble figure in Sta Maria degli Angeli in Rome. Yet no one who has attained to any sympathetic understanding of the Carthusian order can fail to have realised that there must have been a something of strange strength and simple persuasive beauty in the personality which could stamp its own impress on an Order whose rules, fitted apparently for so few men, fitted apparently for so few ages, has yet endured for over eight centuries, and remains unchanged in all its essentials in a ninth, which is, in almost every particular, such a contradiction of its principles. The Carthusian order to-day practises, with the very slightest modification, the very rule which Bruno thought out and put in practice in the eleventh century.

It is agreed that Brunon or Bruno was a native of Cologne, of the noble family of Harde-Faust (Hartenfaust, or Hardevrist *), and that in due time he went to the

* The name Hardevrist survived till the eighteenth century at Ypres.

collegiate school of St. Cunibert in that town. Some writers send him thence to the University of Paris, and presently record a miracle—made use of by Le Sueur in his frescoes of the life of the saint for the Carthusian Monastery of Paris *—whereby Bruno was converted to his very serious view of life. The story, which will be found in Mrs. Jameson's legends of the monastic order, describes how a certain Doctor Raymond Diocrés, of great repute for his life and learning, having been brought to Nôtre Dame for funeral, rose thrice upon his bier to the horror of the bystanders, uttering at intervals the sentences, " I am called," " I am judged," " I am condemned." If, however, Bruno was really a student at Paris, it needs not to call in the aid of miracle to explain to us that the condition of things in that place and age might have well produced distress of mind and revolt in one who was cast in the mould of a St. Bruno. We are back in history when we find him at Rheims, where, as Prebendary and later as Chancellor he earned a widespread fame for his teaching and his capacity in affairs, and famous pupils went forth from his school. Perhaps the foremost of these was Eudes (Otto) de Chatillon, afterwards Prior of Cluny, and at last Pope, as Urban II. But the longing to escape from the world, no matter whence it came, was strong upon him. He presently resigned his offices, and for a time sought the cloister of Sèche-Fontaine, near Molesme,† diocese of Langres, a Benedictine House where by direct experience he learnt the monastic life, and thought out in this light the rules of his own future order. Presently, his scheme being matured, he sets forth southwards with six companions, Landuino di Lucca (second prior of the Grande Chartreuse), Etienne de Bourg and Etienne de Die (Canons of Saint Ruf, near Avignon), Hugh the chaplain with André and Guérin, lay brothers. The little band set their faces for the

* The original cartoons are in the Louvre. The legend is told at fuller length in two shapes in A. Lefebvre's *St. Bruno.*

† Doubts are, however, expressed on this and other points in this period of the life. It appears that at about this time Molesme, which had for its abbot Robert, the subsequent founder of Citeaux and the Cistercian order, had established a smaller house close by at Sèche-Fontaine. The question is discussed in Lefebvre, *op. cit.*

mountains of Dauphiné, to-day the haunt of happy travellers, but to the mind of that century, the type of all that was most wild and inhospitable in nature. The cause of the choice is not far to seek. Bruno's old pupil, Hugues de Châteauneuf, known to-day as St. Hugh of Grenoble,* was Bishop of this latter place. An old legend tells how he had dreamed that he saw seven stars † fall from heaven on a certain wild spot in his diocese, and, while he pondered, the coming of the seven pilgrims made clear the meaning. He takes them to the spot, which bore the local name of Chartrousse, and which had and has, even in that land of beauty, few rivals for its grandeur and wildness. It lies about halfway, as the crow flies, between Chambery and Grenoble, in the magnificent Gorge de Guiers des Morts, a deep ravine in the mountains of Dauphiné, which lies a little west of the valley of the Isère. Here at a point somewhat higher up the glen than the present monastery these seven searchers after God built for themselves in June, 1084, their seven wooden chalets, detached from each other by a space of about five cubits (" environ cinq coudées "). The only stone building was the little chapel, said to have stood on the site of the present oratory of St. Bruno. This little settlement became the type for all subsequent Carthusian monasteries. It was swept away—all but the chapel—by an avalanche in 1132, and for security the new home was placed lower down where now the glorious but deserted monastery of La Grande Chartreuse is seen.

Bruno had thus attained his ideal, perfect separation from the world with perfect communion with his Maker. But meanwhile another of his old pupils of Rheims, Eudes (Otto) of Chatillon, had become Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, and was a strong candidate for the papacy when, on May 25, 1085, Gregory VII died in exile from Rome, and when

* Not, of course, to be confounded with the Carthusian, St. Hugh of Lincoln, statesman, man of action, cathedral builder, Bishop, who died in 1200.

† The arms of the Carthusian order became seven stars or a ground azure. But in 1233 there was added to this by Dom Martin, Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, General of the order, the now well known emblem of the orb surmounted by the Cross with the legend " Stat Crux dum Volvitur orbis."

ST. BRUNO. BY HOUDON.

Victor III, a few months only after he had fought his way with Matilda's troops to the possession of St. Peters, died a broken man, Eudes became, at the conclave of Terracina, on May 12, 1088, Pope under the name of Urban II. This able man, the first Pope who received consecration outside of Rome, was destined, like his two predecessors, to fight his way to the possession of his See. Wibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, the protégé of the Emperor Henry, as anti-pope under the title of Clement III, alternately backed and deserted by the fickle populace of Rome, had, since 1080, held Rome or fled from it as the Armies of Henry or of Matilda, of Robert Guiscard or of Count Roger, of Cencio Frangipani or the murderous mob of Rome, dominated in turn the unhappy city. At this moment, May, 1088, Wibert held it, all save the Island of the Tiber and the fortress of the Frangipani beneath the Palatine over against the Arch of Titus.

It was at this terrible hour that Urban, sometimes living the life of the refugee on the Island of the Tiber, sometimes wandering in South Italy in the dominion of Count Roger, summoned to his side as his counsellor, the man who had turned his back upon the world. It says much for Urban's confidence in the wisdom and character of the man, that he who was himself a past-master in all the arts of diplomacy should have summoned such an one at such a crisis. Opinions vary as to the date at which the summons was sent—some placing it in 1088 and others in 1090.* Whichever it be it came at a time which would have appalled even the most worldly and most hardened. When Bruno first set eyes on the sacred city its once most populous quarters, the Aventine, and the Cœlian, lay a blackened heap of ruins. It was but a few years since Robert Guiscard with his wild host of Normans and Sicilians, of Saracens and Calabrians, bringing back Gregory to his own, had laid the city in blood and ruins, while the great Pope, for this once a small figure, stood by and suffered it without protest. The eternal stain on an otherwise great character rested

* The list of Priors of the Grande Chartreuse is in favour of the later date.

not only on his memory. The visible scar, which Bruno beheld that day, has remained till within this writer's own lifetime. Forty years ago the Aventine and the Cœlian were still a desolation.

The actual share which Bruno took in the councils of Urban, before the latter was finally to gain possession of the Lateran, has been by some writers defined with detail which is hardly guaranteed by severe history. He is said to have been an important factor in the Councils held at Melfi, Troia, Benevento, and elsewhere; to have been the dictator of Urban's policy towards the Norman princes: and to have been active in stirring up adversaries in Germany against Henry: to have negotiated the unlovely marriage between the young duke Guelf and the elderly Empress Matilda, and generally to have been the master-hand who guided the intricate diplomacies to which Urban had to resort. It is all very strange if true, but backed by no contemporary evidence it is incredible. What we may well believe is that the councils of the Carthusian to his old pupil were for the mitigation of all that was so deplorable in the intrigues of the day. But if, indeed, the later date of 1090 be the true one for the coming of Bruno to the Pope, then the time that he remained actually at his side was short. For before the year was out he had asked leave from Urban to retire once more to solitude, and in 1091 * a charter from Count Roger granted to him the lonely site of La Torre in Calabria, where presently arose the second monastery founded by St. Bruno in his lifetime. Surely the conclusion is that the man who had left behind his work at Rheims, because he could not see in it his true mission, had still less found that mission in the atmosphere of Italian politics and that he severed himself from that which was repugnant to his inner self. At the same time the fact that he was not allowed to return to his beloved Chartreuse seems to show that Urban desired to keep this saintly counsellor within reach. That Urban did presently recall him from time to time is asserted by several writers and may have

* Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

been the case. But there again the first authorities for the statement are of a somewhat late date.

The new Certosa—for, by an affectionate transference, the name of the old home in Dauphiné migrated in an Italian form to the wilderness of Calabria—was certainly well chosen as a solitude. It lies some twenty miles inland upon the peninsula of Calabria at the western foot of the range of Aspromonte. The traveller who to-day traverses, as best he can, those weary miles of bare and sunbaked upland is in a good position to judge of what it must have been eight centuries ago, when all was bare alike and when no human habitation was seen where now the poor village of " Serra di San Bruno " stands a mile or so north of the monastery. It was then a spot to which none but some lonely charcoal burner or belated huntsman could have resorted. To-day as the traveller descends from the last height, and pauses under the cross on the little plot of level ground where tradition says that Bruno bid farewell to Landuino after a visit from his old comrade, he sees before him in the valley an unexpected verdure, some fine oaks and chestnuts, and some slight wealth of fruit-tree and olive backed against the dark pines of Aspromonte. This is the legacy of seven centuries of Carthusian care and culture—the only civilising force, perhaps, which has been at work in that forsaken land. The nearest township is the poverty-stricken Melito, ten miles nearer the coast, where once Count Roger kept hunting holiday, where he was married to Eremberga, and where he—dying presently in the same year as Bruno, 1101 A.D.—was to lie at rest beside her. There is, indeed, a picturesque tradition that Count Roger before the granting of the charter had already made acquaintance with the Saint. The story would have it that Bruno, on an errand to Calabria from Pope Urban, had found for himself his lonely haunt at La Torre, and here one day the great Norman, while hunting, came across him. The tradition may be sound : there is nothing against it save a slight difficulty in time. But, without it, it is also easy to see that from Urban himself, who had been a wanderer there, Bruno might have had report of its fitness for his choice.

The first settlement in this new home was at the spot known as La Torre, where the oratory of St. Bruno still marks the site of "Sta Maria del Bosco." But before long a second settlement lower down was found necessary, and here under the name of "San Stefano del Bosco" rose the great monastery, which with one interval,* endured as a Certosa till the great earthquake of 1783 shattered the whole countryside and left it a heap of ruins, the haunt of the adder and the owl. So it remained till within the last twenty years. It has now been bought and given once more to the order with some portion of its old domains, and it is now rebuilt and inhabited by Carthusian monks. It was here that, with perhaps an occasional summons to Rome, Bruno spent the last ten years of his life, and dying in 1101 was laid to his rest.

From the life of this true saint, for which the historical materials are all too few, while the added conjectures have been all too many, we at least are able to realise the figure of one who was by capacity a man of action, by preference a man of retirement and self-effacement: a man by native wisdom, by education, by experience, well-equipped for affairs, and yet seeing his true mission in another direction: a man possessed of many of the qualities of a leader of men: a man above all capable of inspiring other men with his own ideals, and holding them to those ideals by the bonds of a rule which, however impossible to the many, was made possible to the few for whom it was intended by its leavening of sound sense, and its admixture of human sympathy. He left behind him the outlines of his rule, not in writing, but verbally, having, it is said, during the visit to him of Landuino, who succeeded him as Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, imparted all his views. Landuino never reached Dauphiné, but dying on the way home in 1100, left in manuscript the notes which helped the Prior Guigo, a few years later, to shape the "Consuetudines Ordinis

* It was for a short time abandoned by the Carthusians and passed to the Cistercians, by whom it was restored to its original order.

Carthusiensis" which became the accepted text-book for Carthusian life. They were not printed till 1510. A copy of this work, from the noble press of John Amerbach of Bale,* lies before me as I write. The rule of life, simple, austere, exact down to the smallest details of prayer and praise, of manners and conduct, of diet and dress, is yet so tempered with common sense and with a cheerful recognition of the needs of human life, that it has stood the test of eight centuries, and now in its ninth it differs very little save for some slight modifications from that which was lived on the slopes of Chartrousse, among the pines of San Stefano del Bosco and in the flats of Smithfield.

* The Consuetudines were re-issued with invaluable comments by Dom Masson in 1894, and were printed at the monastery of Montreuil in a manner worthy both of them and of the press from which they came.

CHAPTER VI

THE CARTHUSIAN RULE AND CARTHUSIAN MONASTERIES

THE ground plan of our Charterhouse in London, visible still through all the changes that have befallen it, yields up its secret only to those who have some knowledge of the requirements of a Carthusian monastery. Such knowledge not only throws light on many difficulties, but it serves to protect us from the many strange mistakes that have been published with regard to our monastery.

We saw in the last chapter that the little first settlement at Chartrousse became the type of all subsequent Charterhouses for all time. The seven little wooden cottages, or cells, built doubtless like the chalets of the district, with a covered way or corridor to unite them, became in later monasteries, the Great Cloister with its cottage cells and gardens built about an open square and joined by the "ambulacrum" or covered arcade. The tiny oratory grew into the monastic Church: the little room where the community met to discuss its affairs into the Chapterhouse; the common room into the Refectory; the chalet devoted to the wayfarer or visitor into the Guesthouse. These main features repeat themselves with such persistency that the plan of one complete Charterhouse is a fair guide to any other.

To begin with the Great Cloister, which, as the dwelling-place of the monks, became of course the heart of a Charterhouse, it may be here said that the number of a normal monastery was twelve monks in the great cloister and a Prior. This number is found at the English Charterhouses of Beauvale, and Axholme and, abroad, of Capri, Avignon,

COTTAGE CELL, GREAT CLOISTER. MOUNT GRACE.

CELL DOOR AND HATCH, GREAT CLOISTER. MOUNT GRACE.

Pontignano, and many others, and was the total of the Grande Chartreuse in Guigo's day. A double monastery housed twenty-four monks in the Great Cloister with a Prior. This number is found in our London Charterhouse, and in many abroad such as the Certosas of Pavia, Rome (Sta Maria degli Angeli in the Baths of Diocletian), the Cartuja of Miraflores, near Burgos, and many more, while the Grande Chartreuse in its later day, the Charterhouse of Sheen, near Richmond (the largest English Charterhouse), and one or two more, held thirty-six cloister cells. The Certosa of Farneta, near Lucca, which has become the Mother House since the dissolution of the Grande Chartreuse, holds nearly double that number, and so also the modern English Charterhouse of Parkminster.

The word "cell" is to those who know the cells of other orders misleading. The cell of a Carthusian is a detached house or cottage placed in its own little garden plot. Both the cottage and the plot vary in size in various instances. The chalets of the first settlement at Chartrousse are said to have stood with a mere interval of 7 or 8 feet. I have measured many cells and plots in many Charterhouses in Europe and have found the plots to vary from some 30 feet square (as at Avignon, Miraflores, etc.) up to nearly 60 feet at Ferrara, whose cells and gardens are the roomiest that I have seen. But in the greater number of instances the plots approximate to 50 feet square. The distance from hatch to hatch in the frontage of the three cells still visible in our London Charterhouse is about 50 feet. The cells were either of one storey as at Capri, Avignon, Xeres, etc., or of two storeys,* which was indeed the most usual plan, as at Mount Grace in Yorkshire, Sta Maria degli Angeli in Rome, Padula in Apulia and elsewhere. Our own Charterhouse cells, to judge by the plan of the water supply, were of two storeys. In rare instances, as at Trisulti in the Abruzzi (where, however, an alteration of level has taken place), the cell has also a basement. But in all cases the accommodation is the same, differing merely in size and extent. On the

* Perhaps the truer description in most cases would be to say a ground floor and a loft.

door, which none may pass save the owner of the cell, or the Prior, or one who has the Prior's permission, is found a letter of the alphabet, and under it a text of scripture, or from one of the fathers, beginning with the corresponding letter. Thus, in our plan we find every cell indicated under its proper letter, and the M.S.M.I. speaks of a certain cell where the verses are written which begin with the letter Y ; again of one whose verses begin with I. At one side of the door is a little hatch passing, with an elbow bend, through the thickness of the wall. It is through this hatch that the food is passed to the monk by the lay brother, who must neither see nor speak to the occupant. Two such hatches may be traced in the fragment that remains of our Great Cloister. The cottage is entered, usually, by a passage which gives access to a little workroom, where will be found the tools of the particular handicraft which the monk uses for his recreation. Here we meet at once the common sense which helps to make possible the strain of the isolation and solitude. For every monk must have a handicraft of his choice. Before the days of printing the chief industry of the Carthusian lay in the transcribing of books. This is especially * stated by Guigo, and a most exact inventory of the tools which each monk was to possess for the purpose is given. And we find the fact emphasised in early writers. But after the fifteenth century the spread of printing † supplanted the

* Guibert, Abbé de Nogent, describes his visit about 1104 to the Grande Chartreuse. He tells how the Comte de Nevers in kindness of heart sent the monks presents of silver articles, and how they refused the costly gifts with gratitude, but asked for a supply of parchments. " The transcription of books," he adds, " was one of the occupations by predilection, of these holy anchorites." Pierre de Cluny, too, writes, " Ils s'appliquent au silence dans leur cellule . . . ou au travail des mains, surtout a copier des manuscrits."

† The share of the Carthusians, however, in the printing of early books and in the spread of letters was not inconsiderable. Apart from the fine libraries which they collected, as at the Karthaus of Buxheim, with which the printer, Gunther Zainer, seems to have had close connection, a list of books printed in Carthusian monasteries has been published by Dr. G. C. Williamson. It does not follow, of course, that the work was all done by Carthusian hands, though the presses were set up in their monasteries and doubtless supervised by them. The fine printing done quite recently by the now suppressed chartreuse of Montreuil-sur-Mer may also be mentioned.

old art, and it may be said that carpentry,* gardening, book-binding, and other crafts have taken its place in Carthusian recreation. The cottage contains also a small prayer-chamber or oratory, a sleeping room, a living room, a wood-store. One of the rooms opens to a little outside penthouse or promenade which commonly runs the length of the garden, and serves for the exercise of the monk. For the idea that he perambulates the cloister at will is false. He uses the cloister arcade only as a passage to and from the church, or the Refectory; for the occasional visit to the barber's shop (Rasura), and for the way out to his "spatiamentum" or weekly walk outside the monastery wall, the latter being the only occasion on which free speech is allowed him, except after Refectory on Sundays and feast days. The little 50-foot garden, sometimes beautifully kept, if gardening be his pleasure, is for the monk alone.

The Church in all cases either abuts on the Great Cloister or is so near it that access is obtained by the monks without traversing other portions of the monastery. It was in all the early monasteries, and, indeed, it may be said, in all north of the Alps and the Pyrenees was of a very simple even severe character as befitted an order whose key-note is "Simplicitas." The normal Carthusian Church is a simple choir, without nave or aisles. Where the lay brothers worship in the same church, as happens in most cases, a screen divides the portion nearest the high altar, which is used by the choir monks only, from the other end of the Church, which is used by the lay brothers. The choir monks enter by a door within their precinct, the lay brothers entering from the other end. The screen, usually some 10 feet in height, has a door in the middle enabling the lay brothers to see the high altar, and upon their side of the screen, on either side of the door, are found a pair of altars, dedicated sometimes to St. John and St. Joseph, to St. Bruno or other saint. Strangers, save by some special exception, were not admitted to the monks' portion of the Church, which was reserved for themselves, for visitors of

* The certosina work common in North Italy is so-called from its having originated in Carthusian cells.

their order, Bishops, and ecclesiastics. Usually, therefore, there was a place reserved elsewhere for strangers. This was sometimes on the floor in rear of the lay brothers' portion (as at Evora, Xeres, Seville), but more often in a gallery above, as at the Grande Chartreuse, at the modern San Stefano del Bosco (the latter built by French monks on the model of the former). The bell was swung in such a position that each monk as he passed in from the great cloister could ring it till his place was taken by the next comer. There was no organ, Carthusian services being wholly in chanted plain-song. Excess of ornament,* stained glass, embellishment of choir books were discouraged as unfitting in the stern and simple worship of the Carthusian order.

In seeking for the features of a Carthusian Church in our own Chapel in London, on which later ages have piled, though reverently, so many obliterating details, it is very interesting to be able to unearth the simple plan of the church—now represented by the southern bay or aisle—in which the white monks worshipped. The door by which the choir monks entered has disappeared, but the lay brothers' entry may be seen in the external southern wall (at about the point of the Preacher's seat), and the dividing screen must have been placed just east of it. The position of the strangers' portion is uncertain. Some find it in the little vaulted chamber, now the Baptistry at the west. I am myself inclined to believe that it was a gallery in the chamber above, now the Muniment Room, which in those days may have been open to the Church.

The monks' Refectory, Freytor, or Frater, was also generally accessible by easy means from the great cloister, and naturally adjoined the kitchen. It was used only

* It was and is something of a complaint against the Italian and Spanish Charterhouses, especially those which came into existence in the days of the Renaissance, that the splendour of their churches and their buildings, as at the Certosa of Pavia, of Naples, of Ferrara, of Miraflores, of Rome, contradicted the Carthusian spirit of simplicity. It is only just to remember that in each of these cases the monastery was somewhat at the mercy of its splendour-loving founder ; and still more that, whatever the magnificence of the church or of the building, the life of the monk in the cell partook not of it but remained as austere as in the sterner convents of the north.

on Sundays or on feast days, on which days alone the monks fed in common, yet still in silence, while chapters of the Bible were read aloud from a pulpit fixed upon the Refectory wall. In Charterhouses still occupied I have always found that the tables are ranged against the side walls, the Prior occupying the central position at a cross table at the end. The monks sit at one side of the table only, their backs to the wall. In monasteries where the lay brothers occupy an entirely different house, "Domus inferior" or "Correria" (as at the Grande Chartreuse, where it was situated at La Courrerie, a little distance off), and at Witham in Somersetshire, the lay brothers dined in their own house. But this separation of houses applies only to a small minority. Where the lay brothers' quarters were adjacent to the rest, as in London, they usually, not invariably, had their Refectory in the same room as the monks, but separated from them by a partition. They never took their meals in common. The question of our own Refectories in London will be, however, dealt with in a later chapter.

The Chapterhouse, which in the London House was to the east of the church, served as a place of meeting for the Fathers and the Prior. Here took place the voting on the election of a new Prior, or the admission to full vows of a new monk. Here, too, addresses were given by the Prior, for sermons were not delivered in a Carthusian Church. The Sacristy is marked in the plan as lying on the north side of the church, with which there was communication.

In every Charterhouse there was also a little cloister, "Parvum Claustrum," never far away from the Great Cloister. It was usually surrounded by buildings, and in all the monasteries which I have examined—some sixty in number—it had an arcade around it. This arcade either carried a storey above it (as in Rome, Florence, etc.), or was projected under a penthouse roof into the area of the cloister. And no doubt one of these methods was adopted in our own Little Cloister, whose position approximately corresponds to the present "Master's Court." In our Charterhouse the Guesthouses seem to have been on the

east wing of this cloister (now the Master's Lodge), and, therefore, as in most other * instances, it was very near the Gatehouse. The west wing of the Little Cloister (now the Registrar's House and part of the kitchen) were the quarters of the lay brothers, of which a portion still survives in the buildings around "Washhouse Court." Here were the "obediences" of the lay brothers—the offices, that is, in which their service was rendered. There was a washhouse (now in the lower portion of the Registrar's House), a long workroom along the west side (still serving its purpose to-day, but divided by partitions), a bakehouse, a brewhouse (for the monastery, of course, brewed its own small beer), and a fishhouse. The north-east corner of this little court contained the kitchen and the larder. The lay brothers' quarters were once of much greater extent than as we see them now, and beyond them lay the stables, barns and outhouses (occupying the site of the present brothers' buildings in Preachers' Court and Pensioners' Court). The monastery fishpond,† which yielded so many "great carps" to the seekers after unconsidered trifles at the dissolution, lay further north across the space where the north wing of Pensioners' Court now stands. The barber's shop was, in the early monastery, placed in the Great Cloister a little east of the Chapterhouse, but was probably moved at the remodelling of the monastery in Tynbygh's priorate to the neighbourhood of the lay brothers' quarters. The Gatehouse, a very important feature of any monastery, occupied the position of the present Gatehouse, and the entrance court within represents the space often found in Charterhouses intervening between the Porter's Lodge and the actual conventional buildings.

In the plan of the water supply, so often quoted, we find outside the Gatehouse and in the western portion of the space which is now Charterhouse Square, a building marked as "Egypte or the Fleshe Kitchen." This building has caused much questioning. But the explanation is perhaps not far to seek. It will presently be shown that the Donati

* At Beauvale the Guesthouse adjoins the Gatehouse, and so, too, at Mount Grace.

† See Record Office, William Dayle's report.

or servants of the monastery (not the Conversi or lay brothers) who were under no vows and merely attached to the convent by a civil, or perhaps we had better say, a religious contract, were allowed to eat meat. And since this could not be used nor admitted in any shape inside the gates, it was to be procured by the Donati—perhaps also by the servants and retainers of those who came to visit the monastery—in this outside fleshe kitchen, just as at the Grande Chartreuse a place of refreshment was allowed outside the gates.

To the north of the buildings, beyond the Great Cloister and the monastery barns, lay the kitchen garden * and orchard, and the monk's wilderness or wild garden. These lay, the former where now is found " The Master's Garden," the latter (though the boundaries are undefined) more to the east where " Under Green," the cricket ground of the Under School, lay in the days of the school.†

So far for the arrangements of the monastery, which repeat themselves with but slight variation as to size and position in every Charterhouse. And now for the life that is lived within it.

The members of a Charterhouse are of three grades: first, the Professed, or Cloistered, or Choir Monks—the Fathers as they are sometimes called, who are under the fullest and strictest vows taken after a long probation or novitiate, who never leave the cloister but by leave of the Prior; secondly, the Conversi or Lay Brothers, also under vows equally strict on some points, but less so upon others, and who are allowed to go outside the Convent without the Prior's leave; and thirdly, the Donati, who are the servants and labourers of the Convent, under no vows, but under an ordinary contract.

The future monk is not admitted to novitiate before the age of eighteen, and the greatest pains are used to prevent

* The hay and the apples, the rosemary and the rose trees, and the bays which were amongst the minor spoils of the monastery in 1537–9 will occur to the mind of the reader.

† The space known as "Under Green" is now entirely built over. The road lately re-christened as Clerkenwell Road still bore in the writer's schooldays the name of Wilderness Row. Thackeray's first schoolhouse, No. 28, still exists there.

any one who is unfitted by temperament or even by physique for the severities and special calls of the Rule. The postulant must be able to chant since the prayers of the Church are so great a portion of his duty, and he must have some education and know some Latin for the same reasons, and at the outset he is of intention submitted to a month of severest austerity, and the statutes enjoin that he shall be even discouraged and that the trials of the life shall be set before him in clearest shape. At the end of a month, if he be suitable, he is, at a meeting in the Chapter-house, admitted to Probation, and wears the white habit * during his novitiate, and lives in all respects the life of the monk. After one year of novitiate he is, again by voice of the Chapter, admitted to the " simple vows " ; and not till four years of proved fitness have followed does he finally take upon him, by consent of the Chapter, the " Solemn vows " which make him irrevocably a Carthusian. Before this time he has been free to retire from the probation. These are the precautions taken by the order to prevent any but those few for whom the profession is possible and fitting, from entering rashly on the vows. It may be doubted, says a writer, if in the ordinary professions of life men often have such opportunity of insight into the life that they are choosing, or such means of judging of their fitness for it.

The ordinary day of a Carthusian monk in summer is divided as follows :—

5.45 a.m. The bell of his cell is rung from outside by the monk [Excitator], who wakes the cloister. The monk rises and says the first office in his cell.

6.30 a.m. The second Angelus sounds. [At the sound of each Angelus—there are four in the day—the monk says three Ave Marias.]

6.45 a.m. The monk leaves his cell and goes to the church, where he takes his place in his stall, and kneels in silent prayer.

* The habit differs only from that of the full monk by the absence of the characteristic fillets or bands at the side of the long hood. But the novice wears over it a black cape.

7 a.m. The Conventual High Mass.

7.45 a.m. (about). Each monk (every monk is an ordained priest) celebrates his private Mass in one of the many chapels. [This custom does not seem to have belonged to the earliest days of the order, but had become the rule by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It explains the large number of chapels which are found in some Charterhouses, since it was necessary for each monk to celebrate his Mass at about the same time. In London we know of chapels * in honour of St. Anne, 1405 (at the west end of the church, south side, see Chapter VIII.), the Holy Trinity, St. Peter, St. Paul (a small chapel on the south side of the Chapterhouse), St. Mary Magdalene, 1436 (apparently opening out of the Little Cloister, St. John the Evangelist, 1437 (south side of the high altar). St. Katharine, endowed by Sir Robert Rede, founder of the Rede Lectureships in 1520 (apparently on the south side), St. Agnes (on the north side, founded 1475 on the site of the earlier parlour), St. Michael and St. John Baptist (north side), 1453, and a little to the east of this, St. Jerome and St. Bernard, 1453.] For this purpose the monks were divided in pairs, one monk celebrating while his companion served. The order was then reversed.

8.45 or 9 a.m. He returns to his cell and has one free hour. He uses half of this for meditation, half for recreation (manual labour).

10 a.m. Office of Sext in cell. Two lay brothers bring the meal of the day, "the pittance," to the hatch, and place the food in the little elbow-shaped aperture, whence it is removed in silence by the monk.

10 a.m. to 12 noon. The meal is followed by free time, in which the monk may occupy himself in manual labour, gardening, or reading.

12 noon. The third Angelus sounds: office of Nones of the Blessed Virgin, and office of the day in the cell. Free time till Vespers.

* The list of chapels given in M.S.M.I. differs in very slight particulars from that which is found in the inventory at the surrender. See Appendix.

2.30 p.m. Vespers of Little office in cell.

2.45 p.m. The monk leaves his cell and goes to the church.

3.0 p.m. Vespers in church followed by the office of the dead [the latter is not used on Sundays and Feast Days].

3.45 or 4 p.m. Returns to cell.

4.30 p.m. Supper [except during the long Carthusian fast from Sept. 14 to Ash Wednesday, when the supper is practically absent, or consists of fragments saved by permission from the early meal. During Lent, the fast of the Church, the second meal is also very meagre].

6.0 p.m. The fourth Angelus, Compline, and office " de Beatâ Virgine " in the cell.

After this the monk retires to rest, very early, for he is again aroused at 10.45 p.m. by the Excitator. The monk recites the Matins and Lauds of the Virgin and prayers for the deliverance of the Holy Land (prescribed by the Lateran Council of 1215).

11.45 p.m. The monk leaves his cell for the third time during the twenty-four hours, and, lantern in hand, goes to the church, where at 12 midnight the Matins of the Great office are begun. These are followed by the Lauds of the office of the Dead, then the Canonical Lauds and, lastly, the Ave Marias of the first Angelus at the end of the service, about 2 a.m. or 2.15 a.m., when the monk returns to his cell, having completed the round of one single day.

In winter the chief meal is taken at 11 a.m. instead of 10 a.m. On Sundays and Chapter-feast-days all the offices save Complines are read in the church, and on these days also the monks take their chief meal together in the Refectory, during which time silence is kept, and a monk reads chapters from the Bible.

The monk lives in silence, which is only broken when he chants in church, and on the one day in the week, when after the morning meal a walk of some three hours is allowed outside the monastery. Also on Sundays after the meal before Vespers. Again when the Prior or Vicar visits him in his cell or summons him to the Parlour (Locutorium). The rest is silence. If a monk meets another or a visitor

in the cloister he pulls his cowl lower over his face, and bowing his head passes without speech.

The monk owns no property. Everything that he has belongs to the monastery, even to the staff on which he walks, if feeble. He may accept no gift. He may not enter on any enterprise—may not, for example, write a book without permission. His life is total surrender. When he enters the cloister he leaves behind his very name and is known " in Religion " by a new name.

The Lay Brothers or Fratres Conversi, like the monks, serve a severe novitiate of a year, but cannot take their solemn final vows till eleven years have passed. The Nova Statuta of the Grande Chartreuse, at a time when there were eleven monks in the Great Cloister, limited the number of Conversi to sixteen, and this was probably the number in our Charterhouse. They lived under the same rules of abstinence and of general life, but were not housed in the Great Cloister. Each lay brother had his own cell or room—not a cottage in a garden, like the monk—in another part of the monastery. In some of the earlier houses, as at the Grande Chartreuse, the lay brothers lived in a separate house, called Aula Inferior, or sometimes Correria, after La Courrerie, at some distance away, and in that case they had their own refectory (as indeed they sometimes did when they were housed within the monastery) and chapel, and the Procurator acted as their Chaplain and Confessor. Their duties calling them often to occupations outside the walls, they were allowed to go without special permission from the Prior. In the British Museum is a MS. of rules for the lay brothers of Shene. It is, however, in the main merely an English translation of the orders of Guigo. The directions are most minute and often very curious. The Kitchener—a very important brother, who is also in charge of the gate—is to avoid waste, and if guilty of it to make confession prostrate. The Shoemaker greases the shoes of the monks, but is on no account to grease those of the Conversi. The Master Shepherd is enjoined to avoid all oaths, lies, and frauds which are wont to attend such business. Also the shepherds are to keep silence when

milking. The duties of the Baker, Carpenter, Smith, Gardener, Barber, are also set forth, and few contingencies of their crafts seem to have been unprovided for. There is a shrewdness running through the directions which makes them very interesting reading.

The Donati were, as already explained, the labourers and workmen attached to the monastery, not under vows, and allowed to eat flesh and to go about their business outside, though under the orders, of course, of the foreman Brother of their special department and of the Procurator. The grades of Redditi and Prebendarii, which seem to have been subdivisions of the Conversi, slightly beneath them, have long ceased to be reckoned in the order.

The Carthusian diet is absolutely without flesh. Even for visitors it is not allowed within the convent. Nor in the case of sickness is any exception made. Eggs, fish, fruit, bread, vegetables, with milk and cheese, with wine, if it be a wine country, and with beer, if it be not, is all that is allowed at their two daily meals. And no rule is stricter than that which forbids flesh meat. A breach of it means expulsion from the order. The Carthusian uses neither tea nor coffee nor tobacco. And yet on this diet alike for Monks and Conversi the evidence all down the centuries is ample that health and long life results. The world outside might wisely take a lesson of health from the fact. When in the fourteenth century Urban V, who troubled himself not a little about Carthusian severities, sought to abolish the restriction against flesh, the Carthusians, failing in other arguments, sent a deputation of twenty-five hale old men whose ages ranged from eighty years to near upon a hundred. The argument prevailed.

No woman was allowed within a Charterhouse. Guigo quaintly gives reason for this regulation. He explains that since none of the human race, wise men, philosophers, prophets, judges, not Solomon, David, Samson, Lot, nor any that have taken themselves wives of their choice—Adam, too, may come into our mind, says he—" and since no man can take fire into his bosom without being burnt,

nor touch pitch without being defiled, therefore we on no account allow women to enter our borders so far as in us lies." In 1483, when Isabel the Catholic made her second visit to Burgos, before entering the town she turned aside to the Cartuja of Miraflores, where its founder, her father, Juan II, had been buried in the choir twenty-nine years before. But though Miraflores owed its existence to her father and its continuance and prosperity to herself the Prior met her outside and refused her entrance. Then he caused the coffin to be brought forth, and in the square outside, the poor remains of mortality were, in true Spanish fashion, laid open to the view of the Queen.

At an earlier date, in 1417, the more concessive Prior of Portes, near Lyon, had allowed Isabel of Bavaria, Queen of France, wife of Charles VI, to enter his convent and to eat a meal there, for which breach of rule he was deposed from his office and made to do five or six days of abstinence on bread and water.* In later times it has been enacted by the General Chapter (which meets at the Mother-House) that the family of the reigning sovereign of the land may enter with letters from the Pope. This does not apply to the admission of the sovereign of any other land—(as, for example, Queen Victoria at the Grande Chartreuse)—which needs a special dispensation. The very strange exception during the early years of the London House will be explained in the next chapter.

The dress of the Carthusians was, at the time of its origin, merely adapted from the ordinary dress in which the shepherd and woodman of the mountains of Dauphiné went about their work. The monk wears a hair shirt with a second coarse shirt over it, and stockings of thick white homespun and leather shoes. He wears also a long tunic

* An interesting case was that of Isabella d'Este, wife of Gian Francesco, Duke of Mantua, who, visiting her sister Beatrice, wife of Lodovico Sforza, at Milan, made the Certosa of Pavia one of the stages of her journey. The monks, much against their will, were made by Lodovico to entertain them. By what means that gay assemblage of courtiers and ladies was housed and fed without breach of rule is not known to the writer. The poor monks afterwards complained that they had been eaten out of house and home and compensation was made.

of strong white stuff down to the feet. It has broad sleeves with deep cuffs, and is fastened round the waist with a white leather belt. The upper garment (the cucullus) is a double chasuble-shaped cape of white stuff open at each side, but joined at the bottom by a fillet or band—a very distinctive feature in Carthusian dress. The upper part of this garment is a hood which can be drawn over the head at need. When the monk has to go away from his convent he wears a black mantle over his habit and a black priest's broad-brimmed hat. No linen garment is worn either by monk or lay brother.

The Lay Brothers or Conversi wear almost the same dress as the monks in church, but without the bands, and their upper mantle when they go abroad is of brown stuff instead of black.

The Donati or monastery servants wear an upper coat or tunic with a hood of dark brown or chestnut, girt at the waist and worn short to the knee, for practical use in labour. It is merely a useful labourer's dress distinctive enough to mark their special calling.

The monks are shaven both face and head, save for a narrow circle of hair about the crown. The lay brothers shave the head but wear the beard. The Donati are not shaved, but are expected to wear their hair close cut.

The officers of a normal convent are as follows :—

1. A Prior, who is elected by the Convent Chapter four days after the death of his predecessor—and generally, though not necessarily, from the monks of the same cloister. His habit and his life differ in no respect from that of any other monk, except that he does not generally live in a cell of the Great Cloister itself, but has a lodging outside of it. He is " Prior inter pares," and once when Urban V pressed the order to allow their convents to be ruled by Abbots and Mitred Abbots they firmly and wisely refused a privilege which would have inevitably drawn the order into outer and political life.

2. The Vicar, who ranks next to the Prior, and exercises the functions of the latter in his absence, or if he be sick,

A LAY BROTHER (CONVERSUS), MIRAFLORES.

A WORKER (DONATUS), MIRAFLORES.

or in the interval following a Prior's death. The office is, however, not used in all Charterhouses.

3. The Procurator or Proctor, who is the Steward or Bursar of the monastery and has entire control, subject to the Prior, over all the property and revenues of the convent. He supervises the work of the lay brothers and Donati and is their chaplain, living in the Lower House or Correria with them if there be one. If not he generally lives for convenience outside of the Great Cloister. At the present Mother House at Farneta, where there is much business, there are two procurators.

4. The Novice Master, a monk appointed for the training of the novices if there are any.

5. The Sacristan, a monk who has charge of the church and chapels, vestments and vessels. His cell generally adjoins the church.

Before closing this chapter it is right to pause a moment and ask what was and is the point of view of the Carthusian with regard to the cloistered life. It can be no part of such a book as this either to approve or to condemn the principle of it. But it is right to try to realise the position which they seem to hold, which perhaps may be stated thus. Holding, as they do, with other Christians, that prayer is a mighty engine for the good of mankind, to which no other force is comparable, they go forward to the view that prayer to be most efficacious should be offered so far as possible by men in nearest communion with God—the effectual fervent prayer which avails much being that of a righteous man. And this communion—here we come to their real standing ground—can only be secured in their opinion by those who separate themselves from the cares, pleasures, distractions of the world by living a life of isolation in close commune with God. They do not assert that such a life is possible to all men, or to most men, hardly even to many men, but for the selected few whose vocation it is. For these it is the sacred way of benefiting their fellows, living and dead, by the force of prayer continually offered day and night by men who have denied themselves everything but that.

It remains only to say that, however impossible to many temperaments the life may seem, the evidence is incontestable that with the care which is exercised in admission to the order, the Carthusian monk is very happy in his cloister. And it may be claimed as a mere matter of history, that no order has been truer to its purpose and more faithful to its vows. The old saying about it, "Nunquam re-formata quia nunquam deformata," has passed into a platitude. It has throughout the 800 years of its existence been free from scandal and without reproach. And more than this. Though it might seem that a body of men separated from outside human company within a cloister could be little useful to the secular interests of a neighbourhood, yet it is a fact that wherever a Charterhouse has been established—and, as we have seen, they have mostly sought the waste places of earth—they have, by their wise management and broadminded benevolence, brought blessings and prosperity to the outside population.* Certainly it has been no spirit of idleness or uselessness, no spirit of sloth or incapacity for the work of life, that has spread itself forth from these homes of silence and of solitude.

Carthusian Foundations in Great Britain.

1178–81. 1. Witham, near Selwood Forest, Somerset. Founder, Henry II (in expiation of the murder of Thomas à Becket). For twelve monks and a Prior. Dedication to the Blessed Virgin and St. John Baptist. Revenues at dissolution, £215 15*s*. p.a. Present use: the Lay Brothers' church is the Parish Church. Some buildings of the monastery remain.

Before 1250. 1B. A Cell of Witham at Mendeep, *i.e.* on the Mendip Hills, Somerset, near Cheddar Cliffs.

* The Grande Chartreuse itself may be quoted. It founded schools, built churches, bridges, hospitals, made roads, encouraged the industries—chiefly foundries—of the district, and on the testimony of an extreme radical in the French Chamber, brought nothing but advantage to what had been once the wildest district of Dauphiné.

Now called Charterhouse, Cheddar, and by a deed of Henry III, in 1250, called The New Chartreuse of Mendeep. Now a farmhouse.

1127–32. 2. Hinton, Somerset, "Locus Dei." Foundress, Ela Countess of Salisbury, by charter of 1227, but the original foundation had been made in 1222 at Hethrop (Heatherop or Hatherop), in Gloucestershire, by her husband, William Longespée (buried in Salisbury Cathedral), natural son of Henry II. For twelve monks and a Prior. Dedication to the Blessed Virgin, St. John Baptist and all Saints. Revenues at dissolution, £262 13*s*. Present use: a private dwelling. There are considerable remains of the monastery.

1280 ? 3. A Charterhouse in Ireland. Place, founder, and dedication unknown. Suppressed in 1321 by the General Chapter of the Grande Chartreuse.

1343. 4. Beauvale, Beaver, Beggarlee, near Gresley, Nottinghamshire. "Pulchra Vallis." Founder, Sir Nicholas de Cantelupe (Cantlow), buried in the retro-choir, Lincoln Cathedral. For twelve monks and a Prior. Dedication to St. Nicholas. Revenues at dissolution, £227 8*s*. Present use: a farmhouse attached to a private dwelling. Large and interesting remains of the monastic buildings.

1371. 5. Charterhouse, near Smithfield, London. "The House of the Salutation of the Mother of God, near London." Founder, Sir Walter de Manny. For twenty-four monks and a Prior. Dedication to the Blessed Virgin of the Annunciation. Revenues at dissolution, £642 4*s*. 6*d*. Present use: Sutton's Hospital.

1378. 6. Charterhouse, Kingston-upon-Hull, sometimes known even in pre-reformation days as "Charterhouse Hospital." Founder, Michael de la Pole, in conjunction with a Hospital for thirteen poor men and thirteen poor women

and a master. Dedication to the Blessed Virgin, St. Michael and all saints. Revenues at dissolution, £174 18*s.* 3*d.* Present use: a hostel for old men and old women with a master.

1381. 7. St. Anne's, Shortleyfield, Coventry. Founder, William Lord Zouche, of Haryngworth. First stone laid by Richard II (who desired to be considered its founder). For twelve monks and a Prior. Dedication to St. Anne. Revenues at dissolution, £201 7*s.* 6¼*d.* Present use: a dwelling-house.

1383 ? 7B. Totnes, Devon. A small house of Benedictine monks was changed by William de la Zouche (see above) into a Carthusian Priory, but restored to the Benedictines in 1386.

1397. 8. Axholme, Lincolnshire, at Lower Melwood, near Epworth. "The Priory in the Wood." Founder, Thomas Mowbray Earl of Mowbray (afterwards Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal in right of his mother). Known to the General Chapter as "the Charterhouse of Axholme." Intended for thirty monks and a Prior, but probably never exceeded twelve monks and a Prior. Dedication to the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Evangelist, St. Edward, King and Confessor. Revenues at dissolution, £237 15*s.* 2¾*d.* Present use: a farm. Small remaining portions of the monastery.

1397 ? 9. Mount Grace, in the parish of East Harsley, near Osmotherly and Northallerton, Yorkshire. Founder, Thomas Holand Duke of Surrey by license of Richard II. Cells for fourteen monks and a Prior. Dedication, originally to the Blessed Virgin and St. Nicholas, but afterwards to "The Assumption of the most Blessed Virgin." Revenues at dissolution, £382 5*s.* 11½*d.* Present use: a dwelling-house. Very large and interesting remains of the monastery. The best in England.

1414. 10. Shene, Richmond, Surrey. Founder, Henry V. Cells in Great Cloister for thirty monks and a Prior. Dedication to Jesus of Bethlehem. Revenues at dissolution, £800 5*s.* 4½*d.* In 1557 (Jan.) the monks were replaced by Queen Mary with Maurice Chauncy as Prior, but went into exile on the succession of Queen Elizabeth. Present use: the buildings of the monastery have wholly disappeared. The name survived in "Charterhouse Coppice" till within a recent period.

1429. 11. Perth. "Charterhouse of the Vale of Virtues." Founder, James I* of Scotland, the Poet King. Number of cells unknown. Destroyed by the mob in the days of John Knox, 1559. Present use, James VI's Hospital or Hostel, let in tenements to the aged poor.

Note.—The numbers quoted in this list give merely the number of cells for choir monks in the Great Cloister; but in many cases the number of monks accommodated was larger, as at Shene.

* James I was buried in the Charterhouse, but the statement (embodied in Rossetti's poem, "The King's Tragedy") that his murder in 1437 took place there is incorrect. He and his court were at the Blackfriars Monastery, where he was murdered by Sir Robert Graham and his fellows.

CHAPTER VII

THE STORY OF OUR MONASTERY FROM 1371

We may now return to the internal history of the House, which we left at the point when, after its dedication on Mar. 25, 1371, John Luscote as Prior with his six choir monks (the number seven was probably not an accident) and one lay brother entered into possession of the few cells which had arisen upon the west wing, and perhaps partly on the north wing of the future Great Cloister.* We saw the Founder, Manny, laid to his rest in the convent church in the January of the next year, 1372. And from that time the House progressed, but by no means with the rapidity which, not unnaturally, most writers have assumed for it. We know now from the monk's manuscript (M.S.M.I.), which we shall have to quote so largely, that at the death of John Luscote in June, 1398, the monastery was still unfinished. For after enumerating the cells and their founders the compiler says :—

"All the aforesaid cells were not built and scarcely founded in the beginning of the first foundation. Nor even in the days of the Venerable Father Dan† John Luscote, who remained Prior for the space of 27½ years; for after his death, which we believe to have been happy, five or six cells, the chapterhouse, with the remaining chapels built beside the church, the frater, the pharmacy, the parlor, the pavement and ceiling of the cloister, the

* It will help the reader if he remembers that the Great Cloister represents "Upper Green" in Charterhouse School days: now Merchant Taylors playground.

† Dan is the old English equivalent of Dom = Dominus.

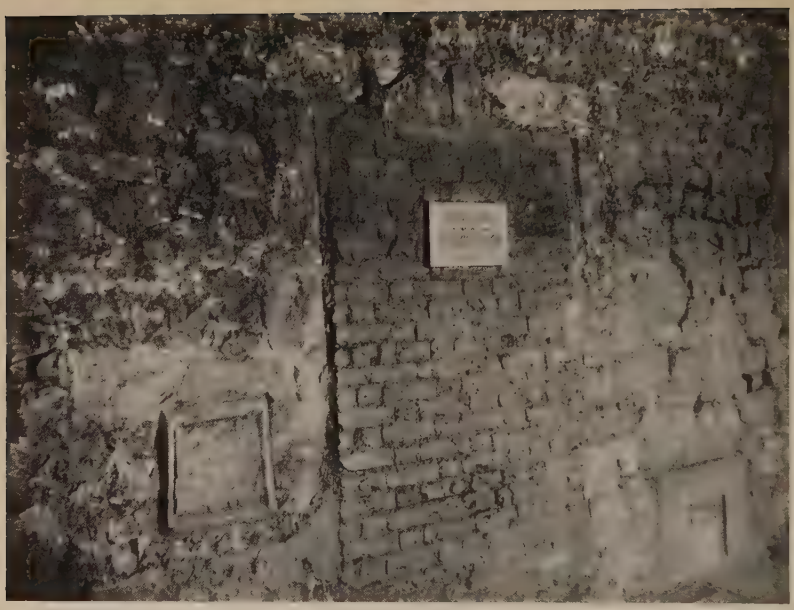
conduit, an enclosure of strong walls to strengthen and surround the whole House, and various other things remained to be built and made."

We find another passage to the same effect, with, however, an addition so important that it needs to be quoted in full :—

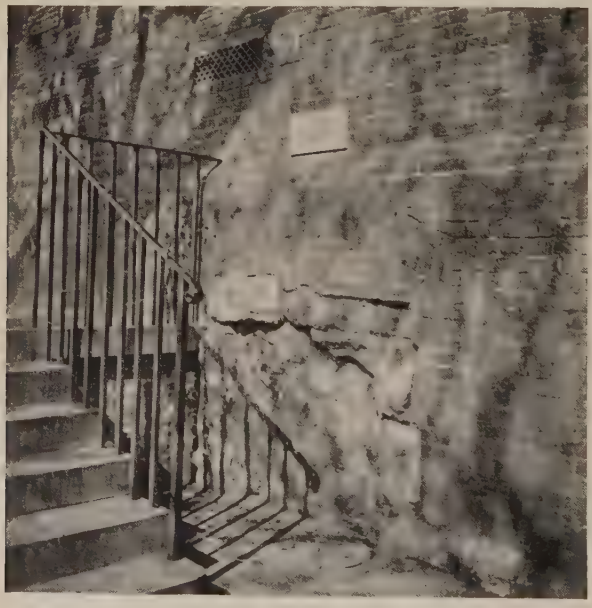
"And although they have nineteen most beautiful cells built and occupied, there yet remain to be built five or six cells, and the chapterhouse, frater, pharmacy, parlor, and the Chapel of St. Anne now just begun, with the intention that women may hear masses there and so gradually be excluded from the church. A barrier of strong walls to surround as a river all the House, the pavement of the Greater Cloister with its ceiling, the church also to be enlarged, and many other things remain to be made and built, so that the sum of the expenses so far incurred, according to common estimate, amount to 1750£ sterling and more."

This passage is of great interest from several points of view. First, though the compilation was made not earlier than 1480, and perhaps later, the use of the present tense, and the words "now just begun" show that the compiler copied out his extract verbatim from a record made eighty years earlier. But the chief interest lies in the statement that hitherto women had not been excluded from a Carthusian church. The causes, both of this and of the unenclosed state of the Priory, are not far to seek. The London Charterhouse took shape at the hour of a great crisis in the history of the country. The Black Death, with its sequence of lesser plagues, had left behind it much misery and that demoralisation which has always gone with and after such visitations. And the long French wars, perpetually calling away the picked manhood of the country, had filled up the cup of bitterness for the working classes. The entire absorption of the King and his nobles in these wars, to the neglect of the social condition of the country, had led to over-taxation, to misgovernment, to anarchy. The condition of London was hardly better

than that of the country. The municipal government of London repeated all the evil features of the kingly misrule. The city rulers were divided into two camps, headed respectively by John of Northampton, representing the smaller companies, and in a sense the commonalty, and the party of the all-powerful monopoly of the Fishmongers' Company, under Nicholas Brembre. And armed bands met in open strife in the streets of London to the paralysis of its trade. It was all over England, but especially in London and in the counties lying nearest to it, a period of seething unrest. The populace, both in town and country, looked with growing hatred and suspicion at the religious orders, whom they regarded as in some sort locked up with the interests of the wealthier classes. The influence of Wiclif and his followers accentuated the feeling. The teaching of John Ball was typical of the growing spirit. And at such a moment the attempted closing of a large area of ground which the commonalty had come to believe was theirs by right prescriptive was bound to create a threatening attitude towards the new Charterhouse in Smithfield, regarded as the playground of the London prentice. It becomes plain, as we read the record, that the new foundation in its first thirty years met with difficulties which, if faced by a less forceful man than Luscote, would, perhaps, have ended in the failure of the monastery. Apart from the opposition of the leading ecclesiastics, unknown to us by name, which probably cooled the ardour of possible supporters and checked the stream of bequests, the Prior, fearless man as he was, dared not carry out the complete exclusion which the rules of the order required. For twenty-three years after the Black Death, before the little church which stood in that mournful God's acre, had become a Carthusian church, the people, men and women, mothers, wives, sisters, had resorted to the little building day and night to pray for the souls of their lost ones. And the people were in no mood to be shut out from a use that had grown so dear to them. Luscote did not dare to excite a mob that from time to time showed itself ready for deeds so dangerous.



DOOR OF B CELL: WEST WALL OF GREAT CLOISTER. 1371.



CELL DOOR IN EAST WALL GREAT CLOISTER. 1371.

The story, however, had better be told from the manuscript. After describing a riot "about this time" (that is, before the middle of 1371), on Maunday Thursday and Good Friday, when the mob attacked St. Paul's, and did great injury, the story goes on :—

"On the Monday before Ascension Day, 1371, that same good William (Walworth) came to the said church of the New Foundation of the Mother of God and two priests with him ready to celebrate with sundry others. Prior Luscote met him. On that day William Walworth laid the foundation of his first cell,* and upon the stone he placed 20 shillings sterling as a solacium to the workmen. He also heard two masses, and so went with God's protection to the Hall,† whither the citizens had been coming. . . . That day, after entertaining the Mayor of the City and the alderman into his house . . . they went out to the Tower of London with those who had been given into custody for the aforesaid sedition, and so having put them in prison, the tumult ceased . . . who having been beaten and not killed after a little time by the mediation of the said William Walworth and other good men they were brought out of prison and restored to their own. Blessed be God. . . . Afterwards the said William built four other cells, and gave of his own goods and of the goods of John Lovekyn ‡ aforesaid 1000 marks sterling, and many good things § both in his life and after his death he bestowed on this House. Moved also by his example and fervour a certain very rich citizen, Adam Fraunceys by name, sometime Mayor of London, a man much given to almsgiving, built another five cells for the construction of which he gave 1000 marks sterling," etc., etc.

* This is easily identified as cell B, whose door and hatch are still visible in the portion of the west wall in the arcade still known as "cloisters."

† This was probably the Guildhall, Walworth being sheriff that year.

‡ John Lovekyn, Lord Mayor in 1348, 58, 65, 66, founder of Fishmongers' Hall, died 1365. Walworth had been his apprentice and became his executor.

§ We learn also that though Sir Walter de Manny founded Cell A, now no longer visible, since it disappeared when the Monks' Refectory took its place, yet Walworth bore half the expense of the cell.

The riot alluded to occurred, it will be seen, in 1371, and was due solely to the populace of London. But ten years later, in 1381, at the great peasant rising when the men of Kent, of Essex, and the eastern counties converged upon London, and the mob held the town for two days, Wat Tyler's lieutenant, Jack Straw, laid the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem—the home of the hated military knights —in ashes. It was a mere stone's throw distant from our monastery bounds. Before Sir William Walworth, Mayor that year, had ended the peril of London by slaying the peasant leader, Wat Tyler, in front of St. Bartholomew's, not 400 yards from Charterhouse Gatehouse, our monastery must have stood in the gravest risk. But since no special connection is made in the MS. between the events of those terrible days and the attack on the monastery, which must now be quoted, we can only suppose that it did not occur during Wat Tyler's rebellion, and that at that particular crisis, perhaps for lack of opportunity, our Charterhouse escaped.

"In the year of our Lord, 1405, were hallowed the altars of the Holy Cross and St. Anne in the chapel of St. Anne at the west end of the church, and this was done of a purpose that women could there hear masses and so by degrees be shut out of the church. For from the beginning of the first foundation women were always wont to enter the church, and the brethren for fear of the common folk did not dare to forbid them. But the untamed people of the commonalty of London conspired in many injuries and terrors on them and other religious. . . ."

[Here follows an account of the mob which destroyed a block of houses near St. Paul's, which had invaded, they said, their common rights.]

"On another occasion, too, they came with horrid tumult and blaring trumpets to the House of the nuns of Clerkenwell, and having applied fire which they had brought with them, they set alight the gates of it, together with the bars, posts, and hedges, and destroyed the

enclosures, alleging that they were some time used to play there and exercise. . . . And later, while they were going, as it had been agreed between them, to that House of the Salutation of the Mother of God to destroy not only the enclosures, but all the cells, as they declared, affirming that before the laying out of the cells themselves, and within many years in the place where the cells have been built, and all around as if in a public place belonging to the said commonalty, they had races and practised divers games; which was true, but only by permission and not of right or any other title of law. But by the will of God it happened that two or three of them fearing God withstood the multitude with great difficulty and with supplication turned them from their wicked purpose, but only for that day. For there were in those days many followers of the damnable sect of the Lollards. And on other occasions they came in greater numbers . . . and on their third and fourth coming they surrounded the whole House and its bounds in a ring, spying out as the sons of Israel the city of Jericho, and went inside and placed new bounds and limits according to their will for a long distance within the former bounds and limits and caused the old walls and the buildings within to be destroyed and removed and threatened to destroy the whole House. For such reasons the Prior and brethren feared to offend the said commonalty.

"In 1405 Dan Henry and Dan Everard, Priors of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Holland and of Diest, visited the province of England, and made the following regulation for that House, and wrote in their charter as follows: 'And because it is forbidden by the most illustrious Prince the Lord King of England [Henry IV] that women enter the House of the Mother of God near London or even a chapel contained in the length of the same church, because from the beginning of the House neither Prior nor convent for fear of the common folk had dared to forbid them. Therefore in the strictest way that we could we have commanded the Prior and Procurator that as soon as they can they cause a wall to be built around the church, as we have directed them, and that they do not allow women to enter within it under the pains of the new statutes [nova statuta], and that no monk, except the Prior and Procurator, ever go beyond the said wall. We also most

strictly forbid the Prior from causing a sermon to be preached in the outer cemetery * of the House.'

"After this order the Monks, except the Prior and the Procurator, did not go out of the gate made in the said wall to this day for any cause whatever, not even for the funeral of any dead person. For before that order the Monks went as far as the outer gate of the said cemetery to meet the funerals of the dead."

The record explains to us a fact probably without parallel in the history of the Order—the admission of women to the conventual church—a fact due, admittedly, to the stress of the situation. It must be observed that admission to the church cannot be supposed to apply to the part within the choir shut off for the use of the choir monks. It can only have applied to the more western portion, probably not even to the space of the floor reserved for the lay brothers, but rather the space further west, yet still within the precincts of the church. Few episodes more interesting have ever come to light in the history of our House.

Meanwhile, and in the more troubled times before the succession of Henry IV had brought some amount of comparative restfulness, Prior Luscote had gone to his rest. The record runs thus :—

"Be it remembered that Guy de Burgh was shaved in the House of Beauvale of the Carthusians, A.D. 1354, and when called came to the House of the Mother of God, Nov. 10, 1370, the house of whose cell began to be built in the week of Pentecost next following. Also on the 15th June, 1398, died the Venerable John Luscote . . . not merely the first Prior, but another Founder. His body was buried in the cemetery of the said House within the cloisters, according to his desire, at the feet of Guy the Monk, whose life is known to have been most holy, opposite to the cloister door by which one goes from the cloister to the Guest House at a distance of 30 feet from the same door. I found these things written concerning these two fathers."

* *i.e.* Charterhouse Churchyard (or Square).

THE SITE OF THE MONKS' BURIAL GROUND.

This passage fixes for us the position of the little burial ground where, in the manner of the Carthusians, a Monk or Prior, or Lay Brother, is laid in his habit, without coffin, face downward, with no memorial nor record save the little wooden cross which perishes in a few years. So was it with Guy the Monk and John Luscote our first Prior. The spot where they lie cannot be accurately fixed, since the exact position of the door from the cloisters cannot be gauged. But the cemetery lay in the south-west corner of the Great Cloister, and somewhere there, unrecorded, lie the quiet bones of the men who set the seal of their own fine qualities on the monastery which they had helped to make.

The stern order of the provincial visitors deprived the London monks of the privilege of the "Spatiamentum," which had already become a custom perhaps in all Charterhouses.* No doubt the peculiar circumstances required it, for it must not be forgotten that though the House was described as "near London," it was, in fact, within earshot of tilts and tournaments, fairs and races, and every kind of cause which brought men together in large crowds. It was, indeed, not long after this, in the year 1424, that the visitors once more found grave fault in that the servants of the monastery were wont to go forth, and even with the Prior and Procurator, clad in parti-coloured clothes. These were doubtless the Donati. In an age which expressed its fancy in stripes and patches, the servitors of the great men who frequented the playing-grounds of Smithfield doubtless went as gay as their masters, and one can well understand the temptation to the servants of the monastery to imitate them, though one can only wonder that the monastery allowed it. It was, indeed, a charge brought against other Monastic Orders of the day that they both went abroad themselves in unbefitting garb and allowed their servants to do the same. But the former of these two charges at least was not brought against the Carthusians. The first we hear of anything of the kind was when the pseudo-prior of Beauvale, Thomas Cromwell's

* It is mentioned as early as the thirteenth century.

man, put in after the surrender, presented himself to welcome the commissioners at his gatehouse clad in a short velvet mantle.

But the correction of any growing abuse was always, under the visiting system of the Carthusians, well and faithfully and speedily done, and the pied appearance of the Donati soon ceased to give trouble. Meanwhile, the completion of the buildings necessary to the monastery went slowly forward. In July 15, 1414, we read of the hallowing of the altars in the Chapterhouse in honour of St. Michael and all the Blessed Spirits, another in honour of the Trinity, St. Peter and St. Paul, and yet another on the north side in honour of St. John Baptist and St. Hugh, by the Bishop of London (Richard Clifford). And it may be accepted that this must have been practically the date of the completion of the Chapterhouse itself, which stood to the east of the church. We have already spoken of the hallowing of the Greater Bell * on July 18, 1428, by Dan Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, to the honour of the Virgin, and then follows an entry of the greatest interest.

"In 1431 there entered into the Great Cloister the conduit built of the goods of William Symmes and Anne Tatersale; which William gave to the construction of the said aqueduct 300 marks. Also that Christ's poor might the more freely and lawfully enjoy such great benefit of water, etc., etc. . . . 220 marks."

The original deed between John Feriby and his wife Margery, daughter of Sir James Bernersbury (Barnsbury), on the one hand, and the Prior and Convent on the other, is still in existence. It bears date 1430, and is witnessed by the celebrated Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, brother of Henry VI. It had long been lost note of, but it reappeared at the sale of the Phillips Manuscripts, and was bought by the present Master of Charterhouse, and placed in the school museum at Godalming. There is

* This is the bell, re-cast, which still tolls the curfew night after night.

little reason to doubt that the great parchment roll now in the Muniment Room of Charterhouse in London was the record of the water supply, its conduits, pipes, and pits, half ground plan, half elevation, which was originally attached to this deed in 1430. For though there are many entries on that plan in several hands of a later period (and one of these is actually dated 1511), it is quite clear that much erasure has taken place, many rewritings * and additions have been made (as, for instance, eight springs or contributory sources in place of the original four), and the plan generally treated as a consulting record kept up to date. It is on four skins of parchment, sewn together, to a length of 9 feet 11 inches, and with a breadth of 1 foot $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is drawn in a brownish ink, the details heightened by colour, and it traces the entire course of the supply from the highest springs (called wells) to the final discharge at Charterhouse. This parchment, like the deed, had at one time ceased to be in the care of our Muniment Room. On May 1, 1746, as we learn from a minute of the Archæological Society, it belonged to Francis Godolphin, Esq., who, by 1747, had given it to Nicholas Mann, Master of Charterhouse, who in turn gave it to his successor, Samuel Salter, from whom it passed to the Muniment Room. Beginning from the plot of ground 53 perches long and 12 feet wide in Islington at the place called Obermead in the Manor of Barnersbury, the pipes passed by agreement through the lands of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell, through the field called Nonnes or Nonys field, belonging to the Nuns of Clerkenwell, then through a meadow called Whitwell Beach (which, now built over, is the property of the governors of Charterhouse), after passing through the building known as the White Conduit, which till 1831 stood one mile from Charterhouse still bearing Sutton's Arms. On approaching what is now Clerkenwell Road it passed through Pardon Chapel, whose shape is clearly

* Most of these rewritings have been made over earlier erased entries, and appear to have been entered after 1512, and probably during the time when the monastery was being largely remodelled under Prior Tynbygh.

outlined on the parchment, and so across the monk's wilderness to its final destination in the "Conduit" or fountain in the middle of the Great Cloister. This is, of course, a familiar feature in almost all the Charterhouses of Europe. In our case, as in most others, the water was distributed by four main pipes to the four wings of the cloister, and gave to each cell, as it seems, its supply of water in its little garden. The exits or "ayes" of the pipes at various points on the south side of the buildings, and even in the Flesh Kitchen or Egypt of Charterhouse Yard are also clearly indicated. Indeed it must be thought of as an accurate plumber's plan in which every detail of the actual water supply is to be trusted. But the plan must not be treated as if it were a scale drawing of the buildings themselves even in the incomplete condition in which they stood in 1430–31. For example, the church is represented in elevation with no small care as viewed from the Great Cloister on the north. This of necessity hides from view all the chapels and buildings attached to it on the south. While, therefore, the plan of the pipes and cocks on that side is mapped with care, the actual ground plan of the chapels and buildings is omitted, not being essential to the purposes of the map. Again, the Little Cloister is indicated in summary fashion, but without any divisions of the buildings which existed around it, and without the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene which opened out of it. The gatehouse is represented because a pipe led through it, but it appears as a detached building, the wall which united it (probably on the line of the modern wall) not being mapped. The "botery cok" is indicated, but the buttery itself is omitted. So, too, the cock and vat in the brewhouse, without the building. Indeed, none of the obediences of the lay brothers (Washhouse Court, etc.) and none of the monastery barns and outhouses, which stood where now the Preachers' and Pensioners' Courts are seen, find a place on the map. Its use, therefore, as evidence must always be blunted by this reserve. Nevertheless, it is by far the most important document which we possess for the reconstruction of the monastery in the

fifteenth century. Unhappily a later copy, made evidently for clearness' sake in consequence of the many erasures in the original plan, has lost one of its four skins, and that the very skin which would have, perhaps, given us the amended plan of the monastery after the alterations in the first third of the sixteenth century.*

The next entry of interest in the MS. says :—

"In 1436 the Little Cloister was built between the church and the guesthouse of the goods of John Clyderhow, and the altar in the chapel there was hallowed in honour of St. Mary Magdalene."

Next we read :—

"In 1475, July 29, was hallowed an altar in the chapel of St. Agnes on the north side of the church where formerly the parlour † was, of which chapel the founder was William Freeman, sometime Clerk of St. John of Jerusalem in England."

And the last entry of the M.S.M.I. is :—

"1481. On the feast of St. Lucy, Virgin and Martyr (Oct. 13), was hallowed the altar and a chapel built in the same year in the cemetery without the wall [Charterhouse Churchyard or Square] which the aforesaid visitors from over the sea [*i.e.* the visitors of 1405] had caused to be built. The first founder of which [chapel] was Robert Hislett, whose intention was that the altar with the chapel should be hallowed in honour of the Assumption of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary. But Dan Edmund

* The monastic water supply remained as the only water supply of Sutton's Hospital till 1767, when the master reported that the pipes (mostly of elmwood) which conveyed the water from the white conduit were stopped up. On May 21, 1767, a contract was entered into with the New River Company. Some thirty-five years ago the foundations of the conduit in the Great Cloister were accidentally opened up. Unfortunately no record was made of what was then found.

† The position of the later locutorium or parlour in which the Prior held audiences with his monks and visitors is not known. Probably it was moved to the east wing of the Little Cloister, where, it is thought, the later Priors' quarters were situated.

[Storer], then Prior of the House, wished the said altar with the chapel to be hallowed in honour of All Saints. When the day of hallowing came the Bishop Suffragan of the Bishop of London, who was summoned for this purpose, understanding the wishes of the said Prior and of Robert, hallowed the altar with the aforesaid chapel in honour of the most Blessed and Ever Virgin Mary and all the Saints."

In explanation of this entry the reader must be reminded that when New Churche Hawe was enclosed as a Carthusian monastery, and its soil no longer available for burials, a small portion of some 3 acres was cut off and left outside for the use of the public. This became known as Charterhouse Churchyard, and is now Charterhouse Square. The chapel mentioned above was, of course, the chapel of the cemetery. It became, in 1543, with the cemetery itself, which seems by that time to have ceased to be used, the property of Sir Edward North. Our Muniment Room has a document of May 13, 1561, by which the latter (then Lord North) conveyed the fabric of the building, whose contents are elaborately set forth, to one Thomas Cotton, a schoolmaster. We learn that the chapel was built of brick and tile. We hear of pews and seats in plenty; of lockers, clasps, and bolts; of matting and green saye; of wainscot doors and fittings; of a screen or partition between the choir and the body of the chapel. All of which have entirely disappeared from sight.

These additions, and the gradual development of the convent up to the end of the fifteenth century, imply a steady accession of wealth. The convent record, and the evidence of the registered wills of the century, confirm this fact. We find recorded by the M.S.M.I. not a few indentures * between the monks on the one hand, and on the other of pious persons desirous to secure for the souls of themselves or their dear ones the prayers for ever of the Carthusians.

* One may remind the reader that an indenture was a document endorsed in duplicate, and then separated, cutting the parchment in an indented line, each party to the contract retaining one-half of the indenture.

So, too, in the wills of the period a large number of bequests are found always with the same condition expressed or implied. A few only of these may be quoted, though the entire series throws interesting light on the life of that age.

John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke (*d.* 1375), who had married Anne, daughter of Sir Walter Manny, made a will May 5, 1372, leaving to the Charterhouse, London, beyond Newgate, the remainder of the sum CCCC pounds "which I have in part granted to that House in fulfilment of a vow I made in Guienne." One of the witnesses is William of Wykeham. A later will, however, omits this bequest, which had probably been made good to the monastery in the meantime.

A typical will is that of Felicia Pentry, relict of John. It bears date May 19, 1381. She is to be buried in the church [this is interesting] of the Carthusian House, near West Smythefeld, near the tomb of her late husband. She leaves to the Prior and monks of the said house certain rents issuing from her tenement called "le Holceler," in the Parish of St. Margaret Bruggestret, so that they observe her obit and the obit of her late husband at the Feast of St. Boniface, Bishop and Martyr, Jan. 5, with Requiem and Placebo and Dirige with music on the vigil of the said feast.

The will of Cecilia Rose, relict of Thomas Rose, clerk, June 10, 1380, describes the monks as "the Religious called Chartres * living at the New Churcheyard without Aldrichegate."

Sir William de Walleworth, Dec. 20, 1385, whose benefactions to the place have already been mentioned, left remainder to the Carthusian House of the Salutation of the B.V. Mary, near London, with the reversion of certain tenements in the Parish of St. Christopher in Bradestrete in return for their prayers.

The will of the celebrated John of Northampton

* In these wills the monastery is found described as "The Charterhouse," "Charterhouse," "Charthus," "Charthous," "Chartres," etc. The variations mark the period of transition from the original Chartreuse to its final English form Charterhouse.

(Dec. 15, 1397), draper and freeman, the friend of William Walworth, and the deadly foe of the ill-fated Nicholas Brembre, is very interesting. After other bequests he leaves Remainder to the Church of the Salutation of the Mother of God of the Carthusian order near London, and of the Convent of the same for pious uses. On the day of his obit half a mark of silver of the profits of the said tenements [in All Hallows the Great at the Hay in the Ropery] to be expended on the pittance (dinner) for the convent and each monk is to have half a pound of ginger, and at every Lent each monk is to have a pound of dates, a pound of figs, and a pound of raisins beyond his usual allowance. In case of default in carrying out his wishes the aforesaid property to go to the mayor and corporation.

This kind of safeguard—reversion in case of default to some other beneficiary—is quite common in wills of the day, and to avoid needless repetition it may be added that both the wills and gifts by indenture make frequent provision for pittance of the above kind, to the occupant of the cell or cells whose special duty it was to pray for the souls of the testator. The will of William Estfeld, Mar. 14, 1445, which incidentally, by the bequest of the " Coler of Gold " given him by the King [Henry VI], tells us that his son-in-law was Humphry de Bohun, leaves to the convent a cask of red Gascony wine.

The will of John Bedham, fishmonger, June 15, 1472, is of interest, since it provides for the maintenance of lamps to be kept burning over the tombs of Richard Clyderhow and of John Popham, Knight, with observance of an obit for the soul of William Baron. All these three persons were buried in Charterhouse.

The will of Richard Chawry, alderman [of Candlewick ward] and freeman, Oct. 18, 1508, leaves remainder so that the names of the said Robert [Rede, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Bench] and Margaret [wife of Robert] be placed in the codex of the convent called le Martylage * Boke to be remembered in prayers.

* Martyrologium or Martilogium, originally a register of the

One of the latest bequests by will proved 1515, though it had been made on April 7, 1503, is that of Thomas Thwaites, Mercer of London, and Burgess of Calais—wherefore the will is to be proclaimed both at Poules Cross and in Calais. He is to be buried in the Chapel of St. Jerome [founded by Sir John Popham, 1453] within the Chartyrhous, to which chapel he leaves all his jewels and stuff of his chapel for use therein and to every brother of the said House twelve pence, together with the reversion of certain lands in Aldermanbury.

These few examples out of a long list of bequests, gifts, and indentures will serve to show not only one chief source of the monastery wealth, but also the bond of special affection which in that age tied the hearts of so many of the people of England, but especially of London, to that little spot outside the busy city, where day by day prayer went up for the souls of their dear ones. To their imagination it was a Vale of Rest in which by day and night the white monks did sentinel duty for the spirits of the departed. From the highest in the land to the lowliest it stood for the peace of the soul. A John of Gaunt, a Robert Knollys, a Thomas More, might resort hither for quiet retreat, and the poorest woman of the town who had knelt in the Chapel of St. Anne, carried comfort with her as she stole back across the meadows to her home in the crowded street. And above all there was a belief strong and well grounded in an age where confidence in all the orders was no longer general that the lives which were lived within those walls were worthy of their task. He who reads this last sentence may therefore feel surprise that I do not much enlarge on the lives of individual monks, more or less familiar to us, nor try to establish their personalities. The life of a cloistered monk makes little material for biography. Those who have read the chapter which deals with the daily round of the Carthusian will realise this. It is to

names of saints and martyrs. Later it denoted a register of the obits and benefactions of those who had been received into the fraternity of the congregation, and whose names were thus recalled to mind. It was also called Necrologium ; also Liber Vitæ, album, or annal. See Nicolas on "Wills."

the monk who violates the spirit of the order that we should look for anything that helps to make history, to a Nicholas Hopkins of Witham, or to an Andrew Boorde of London, but hardly to those whose life is silence. It is, perhaps, not to be wondered at if Carthusian writers in dearth of stronger material have sometimes embroidered strange visionary matter upon the simple white robe of the monk, but one cannot think it well. It may raise a kindly smile in us when we read how, about 1393, Dan John Homersley,* of saintly life, who inhabited cell T, founded by Sir William Ufford, was there visited by two devils, one of whom gave his name as Asmodeus, and how failing entirely in cell T they visited a good old monk, Dan Thomas Clughe, with like result—but it cannot add to our belief, nor yet for that matter detract from it, that the men were of saintly life. Nor when we read how Dan John Darley, who grumbled at his food, and once said he would rather eat toads than such fish as was served, presently found himself invaded in his garden and cell by toads who infested it for three months, and how when he put one in the fire it hopped out again, and how another whom he seized with the tongs, smelt diabolically, as other monks bore witness; and how Prior Tynbygh was assaulted by devils and left for dead, sore wounded on the floor of his cell. To what end such tales? We may surely ask to believe that the wrestlings with self of the Carthusians was of nobler texture and none the less real than this; and that the robust saintliness of a St. Bruno or a St. Hugh, of a Nicolas Albergati or of a John Houghton, grew to its strength out of sterner, truer stuff than this. And it is with the truest reverence, and not from any lack of it, that a writer may well prefer to leave to their honourable silence the lives of men who stand in need of no such doubtful embellishments.

* He was in his turn buried at the feet of John Luscote, as the latter had been buried at the feet of Guy de Burgh.

ORDER OF THE CELLS IN THE GREAT CLOISTER, WITH THE NAMES OF THEIR FOUNDERS FROM CHARTULARIES OF CHARTERHOUSE, 61, RECORD OFFICE. [M.S.M.I.]

West Wing.

A. Sir Walter de Mannay * [and partly Sir William Walworth].
B. Sir William Walworth † (door of cell still exists).
C. Sir Adam Fraunceys ‡ (door still to be traced).
D. Sir William Walworth (position apparently traceable).
E. Sir Adam Fraunceys.
F. Sir Adam Fraunceys
G. Sir William Walworth.
} One of these cells existed in some completion up to 1872.

North Wing.

H. Sir William Walworth.
J. Sir William Walworth.
K. Lady Margaret of St. Paul,§ Countess of Pembrock.

* Sir Walter Mannay (*d.* 1372), "first founder" of the monastery. See Chap. IV.

† Sir William Walworth (*d.* 1385), native of Darlington, of good family. Became apprentice to John Lovekyn, founder of the Fishmongers' Company. Alderman of the Bridge Ward; Sheriff; Lord Mayor, 1374 and 1384. Enlarged St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, and founded a college there. In 1381 built one of the two towers which on either side of the river with a chain between protected the shipping of London, and in the same year slew Wat Tyler in West Smithfield in presence of Richard II, who knighted him. He founded the five cells in the Great Cloister partly as executor of John Lovekyn, and partly with his own money. [The cell door of No. 2 cell survives.]

‡ Sir Adam Fraunceys, Frauncis, or Francis, Mercer; Lord Mayor, 1352–1353. A man of mark in his day. Founded "the colledge in the Chapel of the Guildhall." His daughter, Maud, married John Montacute (*d.* 1400), 3rd Earl of Salisbury, the Lollard champion who, in 1395, fixed the Lollard manifesto on the doors of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey; and after the deposition of Richard II made a plot for his restoration, but falling into the hands of the mob at Cirencester, after surrender, was there summarily executed. At the death of Adam Fraunceys his burial was placed in the hands of Simon of Sudbury, the unhappy archbishop who was beheaded in the Tower by the mob in the Wat Tyler Rebellion, 1381. Adam Fraunceys paid 1000 marks sterling for the construction of his five cells.

§ Lady Mary of St. Paul [S. Pol near Agincourt], Countess of Pembroke (*d.* 1376), daughter of Count Guy IV de Chatillon, third wife of Aymer de Valence (*d.* 1324), whom she survived by fifty years. She was the foundress of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. She had given the sum of 200 pounds and other money gifts for

L. Sir Adam Fraunceys.
M. Sir Adam Fraunceys.
N. Thomas Aubrey * and Alicia [or Felicia], his wife.
O. Margaret, wife of Frederic Tilney † [Thymelby].

East Wing.

P. Robert Knolles ‡ [Knollys] and dame Constance, his wife.

the foundation of the cell in her lifetime, no mention being made of it in her will, which leaves her body to be buried in Denny Abbey, Cambs., where her tomb was prepared. She speaks of her husband, Aymer, "who lieth buried in the Abbey of Westminster." The tomb, one of the most beautiful surviving instances of early fourteenth-century sculpture, is in the north ambulatory of the Abbey, to which also she left her "Cross with a foot of gold and emerald which Sir William de Valence brought from the Holy Land." By the indenture with the Monks of Charterhouse prayers were to be made for the soul of Aymer and William de Valence, and Joan, his wife. For her mother, the Lady Mary, and her father, Guy.

* Thomas Aubrey and Alicia or Felicia, his wife. He was probably of the family of John Aubrey, Lord Mayor in 1374, who was buried in Charterhouse. Alicia appears to have been the daughter of Mary de St. Pol.

† Margaret or Margery Tilney, also written Thymelby and Tibury, gave 260 marks for the foundation and endowment of this cell.

‡ Sir Robert Knolles or Knollys (*d.* 1407), and Dame Constance, his wife. He was of uncertain origin, and presently became the most capable and the most ferocious of all the train-band leaders of his day. As the commander of "the Great Company" he ravaged France from end to end, and for the third of a century was the dread of every homestead in France. He was known as "the old Brigand," and the blackened gable ends of the ruins he had made were known as "Knolles Mitres." Acknowledging neither God nor man as master, he was yet always loyal to his view of the interests of Edward III and of his native land. His principle of war was at least logical. It was to inflict by any means all the injury possible on the foe. To chivalry, as it was understood by such a man as Manny, he was wholly a stranger, and so, too, to pity. He ravaged Brittany from sea to sea. He swept Normandy from Carentoin to Rouen, and thence raided France from Nevers to Orleans, and from Toulouse to Vezelay. Having threatened to capture the Pope himself at Avignon, he came within a few leagues of fulfilling his promise. In 1356 Parliament had to petition Edward III that for his services to England his crimes as a freebooter might receive a free pardon, such as had been granted to Sir John Hawkwood (presently to become the savage but capable condottiére of Urban VI). Twice in his career he made Du Guesclin a prisoner, but was afterwards defeated by him at Pont Vallain. And so, after a long career of incredible incident, he at length was allowed, on payment of a large sum to Edward, to return from his outlawry, to England, where, on the day when Wat Tyler was slain by Walworth, Knolles rode beside Richard, and, it is said, urged mercy towards the peasant mob, though Froissart describes the exact contrary. The last

Q. Dan John Bokyngham, Bishop of Lincoln.*
R. Dan Thomas Hatfield, Bishop of Durham.†
S. Dan Thomas Hatfield, Bishop of Durham.

record of his military service was in 1379, when he saved Nantes by personal bravery, in which he was never wanting. The later years of his life seem to have been spent in the north of England. He founded a college in Rome in conjunction with his old comrade—one of his own sort—Sir John Hawkwood. He rebuilt the bridge of Rochester, which had been destroyed in 1356. He founded the hostel for poor men at Pontefract, known as the Knolles Almshouses, and he rebuilt the churches of Sculthorpe and Harpley. In London he was a benefactor to the Carmelites of Whitefriars, and, as we have seen, to our own Carthusians. When the light failed him at Sculthorpe on Aug. 15, 1407, it closed upon a life which for bravery and savagery, for diabolical cruelty, and for belated and perhaps remorseful piety, for picturesque incident, and for military capacity, has, perhaps, no equal in European history. Of his wife, Constantia, whom he married in 1360, little is known. She is said to have been a native of Pomfret, of "mene birth," but her armorial bearings seem to be an evidence to the contrary.

* Dan John Bokyngham (*d.* 1398), Bishop of Lincoln from 1363; prebendary of Lichfield, 1349; Archdeacon of Northampton, 1351; Keeper of the Privy Seal to Edward III. Translated, much against his will, to Lichfield, 1397, to make room, by a shameless process, for Henry Beaufort, he retired to Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, where he died, 1398. Took tardy and reluctant action against the Lollards, condemning to the stake, 1382, William de Swinderby, for whom John of Gaunt interceded. Swinderby recanted, and was spared. He presided also at the strange suit in which Cardinal Orsini claimed, in vain, the Archdeaconry of Lincoln against the King's nominee. In the episcopate of Bokyngham there were probably added to the Minster of Lincoln the upper part of the two western towers, the row of sculptured kings on the west front, the west windows of the aisles, and the beautiful stalls. He was a benefactor to New College, Oxford, and helped to rebuild Rochester Bridge.

† Dan Thomas Hatfield (*d.* 1381), Bishop of Durham, 1345–46. Son of Walter of Hatfield in Holderness. At all times close in the counsels of Edward III, whom he followed in the wars with France, being present at the siege of Calais and the battle of Crécy. In 1346, being at his diocese during the Scotch invasion, he led one of the four divisions of the English army at the battle of Nevill's Cross. Once more, in 1356, he was left with Percy and Nevill to guard the northern border. Soldier Bishop though he was, he was strenuous and effective in his government of his See. A man of magnificence, both in his person and in his manner of life, he left his mark on the buildings of Durham. To him was due the keep and the Great Hall of the Castle, now much reduced in length; and he rebuilt much of the southern portion of the nave of the Cathedral, with the bishop's throne under which his tomb is placed. In his day the struggle for precedence between the Sees of York and Durham was at its height. He was uncle to Sir John Popham, who was buried in the Great Cloister of Charterhouse. He gave 600 marks by indenture for his two cells with the condition that the occupants should ever pray for the souls of himself, his father (called John in the indenture), his mother, Margery, and all his brothers and sisters, and for the soul of Edward III.

T. Sir William Ufford, Earl of Suffolk.*
V. Richard Clyderhow † [Clitherow], Esquire, Armiger.
X. John Clyderhow, Clerk.‡

South Wing, east of the church.

Y. William Symmes.§
Z. Dame Joan, formerly wife of William Brenche ‖ [Brenchley], Knight.
S. Dame Margery Nerford, and Christophina Ypstones,¶ her maid.
S. The name or names of the founder or founders are known to God.

* William de Ufford (*d.* 1382), Earl of Suffolk. A man of high character and achievement in a difficult age. He served loyally through the French wars under Warwick, and other leaders, and especially under John of Gaunt, to whom at home he was cordially opposed. As warden of the ports of Norfolk and Suffolk, and chief commissioner of the army, he so won the hearts of the suffering peasantry that, at their rising in 1381, they designed to place him at their head. He had much ado to escape in disguise to King Richard, for whom he presently suppressed the rising in the Eastern Counties with no gentle hand. The peasantry revenged themselves by burning several of his mansions, yet presently returned, and perhaps with good reason, to their belief in him as their chief and most trusty friend; for their treatment of him in no way lessened his concern on their behalf. When he died suddenly in Westminster Hall on Feb. 13, 1382, Richard lost one whose councils possibly might have saved the throne. His first wife was Joan, daughter of Alice Brotherton, who was the daughter of Thomas Brotherton. She was therefore of kin with Walter de Mannay. He left 420 marks by indenture for his cell, with prayers for the soul of himself, Joan and Isabel, his wives, and his father, Robert, first Earl of Suffolk, the great soldier who had fought at Crécy and Poitiérs; and of his mother, Margery.

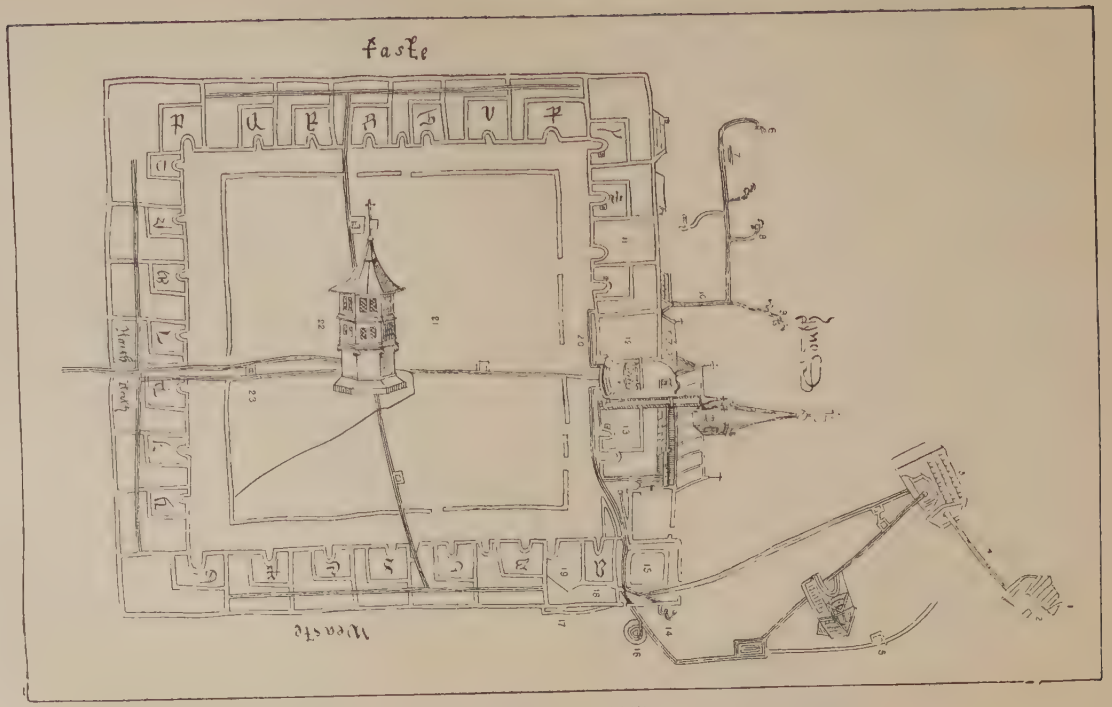
† Richard Clyderhow built his cell in his own lifetime, and left no sealed indenture. Over his tomb, in Charterhouse, and that of Sir John Popham, by the will of John Bedham, 1472, lamps were kept burning day and night.

‡ John Clyderhow, Clerk. In 1436 the Little Cloister (Parvum Claustrum) was built of his goods.

§ William Symmes, Grocer (*d.* 1436). He had also benefited the monastery by many other gifts, in all amounting to over 1040 marks. This included the water supply and the great central fountain (220) in conjunction with Anne Tatersall; the pavement of the Great Cloister, the repair of the upper part of the tops of the walls of the church in hard stone, with an annual dole on his death day, and 220 marks for other purposes. His cell cost 300 marks sterling.

‖ Dame Joan, widow of Sir William Brencheley, also called Atte Lee, apparently the son of William Brencheley, Chandler. The name was probably Brenche (as it appears in the list), the last syllable Lee describing the family home.

¶ Dame Margery Nerford. This lady is mentioned in the will of John Watney, Mercer, Jan. 4, 1425, as having built a chapel in St. Christopher's Church, to the repair of which the testator leaves a bequest.



PLAN OF WATER SUPPLY (*c.* 1435): GREAT CLOISTER.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MONASTERY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

List of Priors of Charterhouse from M.S.M.I. and Dom Lawrence Hendrik's *The London Charterhouse*—

John Luscote,* 1371–1398, 27½ years.
John Obredon, 1398–1413, 15½ years, died Feb. 14, 1417.
John Maplestede, 1413–1439, 26½ years (provincial visitor of England from 1425).
John Thorne, 1429, 8 years.
John Walweyn or Walwan, 1 year, died Oct. 6, 1449.
† John Seyman or Seman, 1449–1469, 20 years, resigned 1469, died Dec. 29, 1472.
Edmund Storan or Storer, about 9 years, till 1477.
John Walsyngham (M.S.M.I.) or Wolfringham (Hendriks), about 10 years, 1477–1487, died Jan. 30, 1490.
Richard Roche (possibly Rock, the learned writer), 1487 to June 27, 1499, died about 1515.
William Tynbygh or Tynbergh, 1499–1529.
John Batmanson,‡ 1529 to Nov. 16, 1531.
John Houghton,§ 1531 to Tuesday, May 4, 1535 (provincial visitor).

In the last year of the century, which was also the last year of the Priorate of Richard Roche, the name of a great Englishman becomes associated with the monastery. Thomas More, the son of Judge John More, then a brilliant young law student hardly come of age, went, says Erasmus,

* John Luscote, previously Prior of God's House of Hinton.
† Dugdale's Monasticon gives the name of Richard Boston as Prior in 1472, but he is not accepted by the Carthusian authorities.
‡ John Batmanson, previously Prior of Hinton.
§ John Houghton, previously Prior of Beauvale.

who had become his closely attached friend two years before, to live near the Charterhouse for four years that he might take part in the spiritual exercises of the Carthusians, and devoted himself to vigils, fasts, and prayers, and similar austerities. Some writers have recorded this in a different shape, saying that More spent four years as an actual inmate of the monastery. This is highly improbable. It is true that at this time More's ardent religious nature had turned his thoughts towards life in the cloister. But it is hard to believe that he would have been allowed, without any vows, without even becoming an oblate (for there is no evidence that he was this), to live for four years in the guesthouse, still less in the cloister. It is true that the rule of to-day, by which visits to the Carthusian monasteries are limited to ten days, was not then made. But we must remember that at this time More was a diligent student of law at Lincoln's Inn, having chambers near there, and it is not even certain that in 1499 he had completed his three years' Lectureship at Furnival's Inn. Probably the expression of Erasmus "near the Charterhouse" is the right one, and may be explained as referring to his lodging near Lincoln's Inn, hardly a quarter of an hour distant across the gardens and meadows, from whence he could, while still pursuing his profession, yet keep in touch with the monks and be in daily attendance at their offices. His intentions, if he ever seriously had any, of joining that or some other order underwent a change at the end of four years. But fate was once more to bring his line of life into close touch with that of the Carthusians when, in 1535, awaiting his own fate in the Tower, he saw from his window the Carthusians led away to their cruel end. "Meg," said he to his favourite daughter, Margaret Roper, "seest thou that these blessed fathers be now as cheerful in going to their deaths as bridegrooms to their marriages." Notable, too, is it that, after More's execution, when ten Carthusians stood chained upright in filth and misery in Newgate, awaiting Death the Deliverer, it was More's adopted daughter, Margaret Clement, who played the part

of a good angel to the unhappy men. How far More had kept touch in between the times with his old entertainers we do not know, but the statement made by one writer that it was probably "owing to the impurity of the cloister" that More changed his intention, is certainly, so far as Charterhouse is concerned, one of the most wantonly gratuitous libels that even religious controversy has produced. No such charge has ever been brought by any writer against the London Charterhouse, and even at the Suppression, when the ill-famed commissioners, Roland Lee, Layton, and their fellows would have ransacked the very sewers of the monastery to find some charge against the community, they brought forth no single word against the purity of life in that cloister. Richard Roche was succeeded as Prior by William Tynbygh or Tynbergh, an Irishman born about 1450 (?), who held office till his resignation in 1529. His life in early days had been, it seems, adventurous.

We need not, after what has been written in an earlier chapter, follow Maurice Chauncey too closely in his tale of how Tynbygh as a young man on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was seized by Saracenic pirates, and being cast for death one night, and praying vehemently to St. Catharine, found himself next morning comfortably in bed in his own home in Ireland without the intervention of sea and land passage required of ordinary mundane travellers. We turn with greater satisfaction to the fact that at his death in 1531 the General Chapter of the Grande Chartreuse made entry that he had worn the white habit for sixty years "laudabiliter," a term, says Hendriks, which means much when so recorded. Carthusian writers are unanimous as to his high character, and his long absence from the world does not seem to have reduced his power of practical action as we shall presently see. When he resigned, his place was filled by John Batmanson, who had been Prior of Hinton. A man whose writings, fully recorded, perhaps still existing, but long unread, had a great fame of their kind in their own day. He even ventured to cross swords with such a master of fence as

Erasmus with regard to the opinions of the latter upon Martin Luther. Erasmus seems to have lost patience, and wrote an angry letter protesting against being called upon to face one whom he scornfully described as an ignorant madman. Of the merits of the dispute I know nothing, but if Erasmus had, as is probable, an easy conquest over such a swordsman, he might perhaps have been more wisely content in merely disarming his foe. Batmanson had but a short Priorate, and dying Nov. 16, 1531, gave place to the last and the greatest on the list, John Houghton. At the time of his election he was Prior of Beauvale, Nottinghamshire, to which office he had been called from his cell in our monastery only six months before. He was born about 1487 of an Essex family; had been at Cambridge—it is not known at what college—and took a degree in Civil and in Canon Law. It is said that his parents had other views for him than the cloister life—a desirable marriage, and so forth. But being in his own mind resolved upon the priesthood, he fled from his home, and was presently ordained. Then after reconciliation with his parents, and several years spent in his home, he once more went forth, and became a postulant in the Great Cloister of our Charterhouse. He is believed to have taken his "solemn vows" about the year 1516 at the age of about twenty-nine. Seven years later he became Sacristan. And after five years in this office he was called upon to undertake the less welcome duties of Procurator (Proctor)—a position, as already explained, akin to that of steward or bursar. It is said that he little liked the change, and that, as a rule, it is not an office looked forward to by a Carthusian. One can understand that a very good monk need not make a very good Proctor. In the Proctor's hands were all the secular affairs of the monastery, its rents, expenses, material work of every description. He had the care of the Lay Brothers and Donati, the distribution of their work in their obediences.

He alone, save the Prior, went outside the cloister, into the city, his business requiring it. It was a return to the world and to dealings with it in perhaps its least

attractive form involving, in almost every transaction, the commercial element. It is to many a monk almost an adieu to what he holds dearest. Yet it must be said that, judging by the mere prosperity which the Charterhouses all over Europe have seldom failed to bring around them, there have been few conspicuous failures among the men who have been called to this duty. The monk called from his beloved solitude to contact with the outer world has not shown himself slothful in business. In the three years during which John Houghton was called upon to tread the streets of the Cheap and to make his way through the fish mart by London Bridge, to see the hay crop carried in the monk's wilderness, the apples culled in the orchard behind the west wing of the cloister, the fishpond near the stables re-stocked with "great carps," the horses stalled in the monastery barns—all these things, we are told, he did most capably, not forgetting the devotion of Mary in the service of Martha. Then came the short transference to the lovely country Priory of the Fair Valley—Pulchra Vallis—Beauvale, in Nottinghamshire. And then the call back to the London home, and presently the end, which was to give him not merely a great place in English history, but also that crown which belongs to men of whatever faith who are ready to die for their belief.

It was during these last three Priorates, William Tynbygh, John Batmanson, John Houghton—extending from 1500 to 1535—that extensive changes were made, and of the greatest interest in the fabric of the monastery, and especially in the parts adjoining the church, the Refectories, the Prior's cell, the Little Cloister, the Guesthouse, and the Lay Brothers' quarters and obediences. Unhappily the documents which would enlighten us as to the exact changes which were made, the dates of the successive additions, and the exact positions of various portions of the new buildings are not forthcoming,* and we

* I am far from unhopeful that documents may yet come to light in the Record Office which will give details of the changes made in the last thirty-five years of the monastery.

are left to a process of inference and deduction which in questions so complicated as these buildings—comparable to a palimpsest many times over-written—is necessarily unconvincing.

The reader who has had the opportunity of examining the parchment plan of the water supply (see Chap. VII), preserved in the Muniment Room, or, failing that, the plan in this volume, will have been struck by the fact that though all else is generalised save the actual conduit, the church is represented with no small care. And since the external appearance of the church is of no value to the plumber's plan, a mere ground plan being as useful, one feels that the draughtsman—probably an inmate of the Great Cloister well used to illumination—has felt reverent affection for the edifice, and expended his best care upon it. The conviction fixes itself upon one that though the drawing is not to scale, it may be safely accepted as giving a faithful idea of the skyline and upper portion of the church when seen from the Great Cloister in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The first thing to notice is that the campanile appears not as afterwards at the west end of the church, but halfway along the roof ridge—that it is, moreover, a light structure, a turret (probably of wood) supporting a slender flèche (probably of wood covered with lead). The turret is hexagonal with battlements, and merely supported, apparently, as is usual in such a case, upon the roof beams and rafters, and is obviously not a tower carried from floor to roof. The flèche is surmounted by the ball and cross with a flag-shaped vane. Here, then, we come to the first important change in Tynbygh's day. Somewhere about the year 1512—for that is the date carved in the lower chamber—the bell tower was moved to the west end of the church and was carried up with great solidity from the floor of the church to the summit with its great bell and frame. The tower was in four stages on the ground floor. There is a vaulted and groined chamber—now used as the ante-chapel and baptistry. Above this is a second chamber, also vaulted and groined, and with

the same bosses as the lower chamber, except that the letters I.H.S. appear on the central boss. This chamber was formerly approached by a narrow spiral staircase (still existing) from the little open square, whose north side bears the name of the Chapel Cloister. I am strongly inclined to believe that this room (now our Muniment Room) opened on the east side into the church, and was used for the gallery for strangers. This view receives encouragement from the fact that it was not entered from the church but from the outside. The old entry has since been blocked up and a new one made into the church (chapel). The third chamber, above the Muniment Room, is reached by the same staircase from outside. It is a spacious room from which, however, in various subsequent patchings all signs of antiquity have disappeared except a stone fireplace of original work and date which has been manifestly replaced among much later brickwork. Of what character the "Lover," Louvre, or Flèche above was, as placed there by Tynbygh, we have no means of knowing.

Not less important was the change which took place in the neighbourhood of the Refectory, involving the pushing out towards the south of the Little Cloister with its buildings. The reader will have realised that the first monastery had been built not on one original comprehensive plan, but a piece at a time, with often long intervals between. And, as always happens in such cases, the buildings seem to have been, in the south-west portion, cramped and inconvenient. The old Freytor which appears in the plan as a room with a gable end towards the cloister garth, between cell A and cell B, must have been small for its purpose. A new and larger Refectory was built to the south of it, occupying almost the whole of the south side of the Little Cloister (Master's Court), which was then pushed out and enlarged till its south wing occupied the position, approximately, at any rate, in which we now see it. And at the same time the Prior's cell seems to have been moved from its old position behind the Freytor and cell A (which now disappeared) to a position believed to

be represented by the large bare chamber * with columns which gives access from Master's Court to Chapel Cloister.

With regard to the new Refectory, which afterwards became the Banquet Hall of Howard House—known in hospital days as Great Hall or Pensioners' Hall—it has become the custom in late years to regard it as the Guesten Hall. I am unable to trace this belief to any authority earlier than the last forty years or so. I do not share the belief. It appears to me far more probable that it was the Refectory of the monks, and when we remember that at the time of the suppression there were over thirty monks in residence, and that Carthusian monks coming to London from other convents were housed and fed with the Fathers, the room would be not too large, not nearly so large as many Carthusian Refectories abroad. On the other hand, I never remember to have seen so large a chamber set apart for ordinary guests, who, with the accommodation obtainable in the town of London itself, could never have been so numerous at any one time as to need this great space. I should rather expect to find, as is so often the case, that they had their meals in an upper chamber of the Guesthouse in the Little Cloister. I think it also probable that the old Freytor, now the Brothers' Library, became, after the creation of the new Freytor or Refectory, the Refectory of the Lay Brothers. It is, as has been mentioned in the chapter on Carthusian life, quite an usual thing in large Charterhouses for the Lay Brothers to have a separate Refectory, and in some cases (*e.g.* the Grande Chartreuse) even to live at some distance from the main house. In no case do they take meals in the same room with the Fathers unless there is a partition to separate them.

The enlargement of the Little Cloister affected the obediences and quarters of the Lay Brothers which appear to have been entirely rebuilt at this period. One fragment

* I am myself inclined to believe that the later Priors' quarters are represented by the first-floor rooms of the Preachers' House (1913), which has a spiral staircase from the lower floor of the date required.

of these buildings, surrounding the picturesque little court known as Washhouse Court, remains to us, and in spite of much cruel though well-meant usage at the hands of successive officials, retains a good deal of its ancient character. The little court contained, on the ground floor, the washhouse [removed hither at this period from the position in the Great Cloister east of the Chapterhouse], a long workshop (still so used), the monastery bakehouse, and the kitchen and larders. It is found in Barker's *Confession*,* under the name of the Lavendry [Laundry] Court. In a plan about 1614 after Sutton's purchase it is called the Kitchen Court. In the eighteenth century it bore for a time the name of the Poplar Court from a fine tree which grew in the middle, and for a long time past it has returned to its older name as Washhouse Court. It represents but a very small portion of the obediences and offices which at the end of the monastery days extended in a long line of buildings continued from the west wing of the court far down into what is now Preachers' Court. Between that line of buildings and the back wall of the west wing of the Great Cloister lay the orchard which in the mansion days became the Privie Garden, and now carries the buildings of the east wing of Preachers' Court.

Of the buildings which remain to us in Washhouse Court the portions on the south, west, and north, and the lower portion at least of the east side, are of the late monastery date, 1500–1535. But it is extremely difficult to assign any given portion of the work specifically to any one of the three last Priors. The east wing is wholly of stone, with some layers of red tile inserted. And so, too, the south side, which again has some very picturesque additions in red brick of a later date. The west wing appears to have been begun at its south end in stone, which, however, ends abruptly 12 feet from the south wall, and thenceforth is red brickwork (old English bond), the bricks being of hard quality and shallow. Mr. Basil Champness, in his valuable paper in the *Architectural Review* (1891–92), says that it will be safe to attribute

* See William Cecil, *State Papers*, London, 1759.

all the stonework to Tynbygh, and all the brickwork to Houghton. I confess to a doubt as to whether we can make a cleavage so distinct and especially that particular cleavage; and I very much incline to the belief that all the changes in the monastery were practically complete by the end of Tynbygh's priorate (1529). It must be remembered that so early as 1512 Tynbygh had gone far into his work. He had already completed the alterations to the church. Assuming that that would have been the first work which he would have desired to see completed, there were still left seventeen years of his priorate, a period long enough to account for all the buildings of the reconstructed monastery. The shifting of the buildings of the Little Cloister, moreover, which must have taken place at the same time as the building of the New Refectory (Great Hall), would, it is natural to suppose, have been the next work to be undertaken after the completion of the church. And it involved, from the change in the ground plan, the destruction of the old Lay Brothers' quarters. It does not seem likely that the monastery would have been left so long as nineteen years (Houghton became Prior in 1531) without its all-important obediences. The fact that Maurice Chauncy, who took the habit in the first year of Houghton's priorate, in his description of his beloved leader's government, makes no mention of any changes made by Houghton must, of course, not be pressed too far, since Chauncy's thoughts were wholly absorbed in the spiritual and moral aspect of the man and his actions. On the other hand, there is a piece of evidence which is often called in in favour of Houghton's share in Washhouse Court buildings which can hardly be accepted. On the west front of the brick buildings one reads the letters I.H. worked in darker brick. The letters are some 3 feet long, and have been interpreted as John Houghton. I do not know if I shall carry my readers with me when in a merely antiquarian question I appeal simply to character in dissent from such a view. I cannot, indeed, believe that any Carthusian Prior in carryng out any work for the good of his monastery would have glorified

WASHHOUSE COURT: WEST WALL WITH THE DOLE HATCH.

himself by a somewhat flaunting display of his own initials. Least of all do I think it possible in the case of John Houghton, of whom Maurice Chauncy writes that "He dreaded nothing so much as to be known." I interpret the inscription as I.H.S., of which the S has been allowed to disappear—the kind of negligence, alas! which has been too frequent in our history—under some repair of the brickwork. It will be noticed that a cross, in black brick, which has lost its upper portion is visible just under the spot where the S would have been. And this is a few feet to the left, though a good deal above it, of the bricked-up hatch at which we believe the monastery dole to have been handed out to the poor. I surmise that it is likely that a shrine or "station" of some kind may have existed here, below the sacred letters I.H.S., at which the receivers of the dole could kneel in thanks before they departed. And if this view be correct then one must not appeal to the letters I.H. in proof that that portion of the brickwork was due to the last Prior of Charterhouse.

Be this how it may, the brickwork of the Washhouse Court can be definitely placed within the limits of 1500 and 1534, and it is conceivable that the discovery of further documents may enable us to give it a much narrower limit. To this same period belongs the brick arch which spans the narrow carriage road leading from the entrance court to the Preachers' Court.* This gave access to the monastery barns and outhouses which lay approximately along the line occupied to-day by the west wings of Preachers' Court and Pensioners' Court. It is natural to suppose that here also some alterations may have taken place at this period, but we have no information. It is, however, a suggestive fact that a hundred years later, at the time of the sale to Thomas Sutton (1611), these buildings were in such fine and serviceable condition that when upper floors had been inserted and staircases, chimneys,

* In 1910 the present master caused holes to be made in the ground where the carriage road broadens out into Preachers' Court, on the left some 40 feet from the west face of Washhouse Court. At a depth of 2 feet 6 inches a brick pavement was reached, evidently the flooring of one of the outhouses or barns.

and doorways added, they became the dwellings of the Brothers of the Hospital and remained so till they were replaced (1824–41) by the present buildings. In short, whatever difficulties we encounter in assigning specific dates to given portions of our buildings, we can come to but one conclusion on the main point, namely, that at the moment of its dissolution the monastery had been brought to a condition so complete, with its halls, its guesthouses, its ready-made offices for a retinue of servitors, its garden and orchard, its kitchen garden and pleasances, its water supply, and boundary wall, that it needed but the insertion of a luxurious dwelling-house upon the ground plan and walls of the buildings of the Little Cloister, to make it what it was presently to become, a princely Tudor Mansion.

CHAPTER IX

THE SUPPRESSION

THE last chapter showed us the monastery about the year 1529, at the height of its material prosperity, and with its fabric made ready for the new lease of life which seemed to await it. There could have been no man then alive, not even Thomas Cromwell, who could have foreseen the shape which Destiny had prepared for it before that century should have passed.

And its reputation at the end of its days was even greater than its prosperity. We have several times noted the fact that in the history of the Carthusian Order in England no stain of ill morals or disordered life mars the record. And in view of the methods used and the character of the men employed to gather evidence, the absence of such charges against the Order becomes not merely negative evidence, but positive. It is, therefore, deeply to be lamented that one writer, the fascination of whose style alone will give his history permanent place, should have so far forgotten his duty as a historian as to bring, by implication, a sweeping charge against the Order which very ordinary precaution should have made impossible. Mr. Froude, summing up the case against the monastic orders at large, claims a strong argument in "the iniquities of the monastery of Sion." He says, "The order was Carthusian—one of the strictest in England. There were two houses attached to the establishment—one of monks the other of nuns." * And he proceeds to detail and to

* I quote the index reference from Longmans, Green & Co.'s edition, 1900. The reference is to vol. ii. p. 316 of that edition.

condemnation, none too strong indeed if the details gathered by Dr. Layton and his comrades, and quoted by Froude, carry confidence. It is, indeed, no part of my task to ask the reader to appraise the value of the evidence in any given instance where these men were the agents. But it is no question here of evidence. Mr. Froude, before he wrote almost the most drastic indictment in his book, should have known—it is very easy to do so—that Sion was not a Carthusian house, but of the Brigittine Order, an Augustinian branch. This grave default is the more deplorable—as also the charge seems more damaging—since the historian is, save for some picturesque inaccuracies, fair and sympathetic towards the monks of our London Charterhouse in the hour, presently to come, of their fiery trial.

But in the year 1529, when perhaps the buildings of the enlarged monastery were completed, no whisper of coming trouble had passed into the quiet precincts of our Great Cloister. Court gossip and other politics have no great currency in the quiet cells whose motto is "Silentium." Henry might be for marrying whom he would. They might, if they knew it, like it or mislike it. They might wonder, and shrug the shoulder, and remember that that was how things got done in the outer world when they were in it. But how could it concern or come near them in the place where all outer things were forgotten? So, indeed, they were presently to plead. But as yet the web had not begun to be woven that was to ensnare them.

But in that same year came the ruin of Wolsey, and England heard that the fallen minister was to be prosecuted under the Act of Præmunire,* whose clauses stringently forbade the referring of any cause whatever to any foreign potentate—the Pope being, of course, included. It extended to any person who should accept any office or dignity in the Anglican Church by presentation from the Pope. And Wolsey, in accepting the position of Papal Legate, had violated the statute. It is hard to say if he

* The Act had been passed and re-passed in the reign of Edward I, Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV.

had done it knowingly, or if he regarded the statute as dormant or obsolete. But there can be no doubt that in any case he relied on the King's permission which had been given. The statute made provision that if the King himself lent himself to a violation of it by a subject he was also guilty of præmunire. And the irony of the case was that Henry was now guilty himself under the statute, and was prosecuting the subject whom he had unwittingly lured to his crime. But Wolsey's personality was not sufficiently dear to his countrymen to earn from them, in the hour of his fall, the sympathy and claim to justice which a sense of humour, if nothing else, might have produced, in circumstances so incongruous! When once the great cardinal stood condemned it became possible to the policy of Henry and Thomas Cromwell to paralyse the opposition of the clergy by an unexpected blow. A year later (Dec. 1530) it was announced that the whole of the clergy of England had come within the statute by accepting Wolsey as Legate—a thing which to the majority had been no doubt distasteful. The King proposed to pardon them, merely inflicting on the two ecclesiastical provinces a fine of 118,000 pounds—probably about a year's income per head. But to this pardon there was tacked the condition that they should acknowledge the King as the only Supreme Head of the Church. We need not follow the unhappy men through the long debates in convocation up to the memorable day in Feb., 1531, when the broken-hearted Warham read out the clause with the words added, "Quantum per legem Christi licet," and the measure passed which was to bear such fruit in England.

The secular clergy had been, indeed, pardoned and paralysed, but as yet no step was taken against the Religious Orders. In Jan., 1533, came the marriage with Anne Boleyn. In the summer of that year, if Humphrey Middlemore, the Procurator, going about the business of the convent, happened to pass the end of Grassechurche Street he must have seen the making of the Great Triumphal Arch which Hans Holbein set up for his fellow-Germans of the steelyard, that Queen Anne Boleyn might presently pass

under on her way from the Tower to her Coronation, "Sitting in her hair"—as Cranmer wrote—beneath her canopy of gold with silver bells, drawn by white horses draped in white and gold. It was the sign, if he could have read it, of a day soon coming when he himself should pass that way from Tower to Tyburn.

For in the early months of 1534 the Act of Succession was passed which declared Catherine of Aragon to have been no wife, and the children of Anne Boleyn to be the true heirs to the throne. And the Act provided that any person suspected of hostility to the Divorce could be called on to assent by oath to the said Act. It was not till April in that year that the commissioners, Dr. Roland Lee, Bishop of Lichfield, and Thomas Bedyll, Archdeacon of London,* appeared at Charterhouse to put the question to Prior John Houghton. He answered simply that he and the Fathers did not meddle with such matters, and that it was not their concern whom the King should marry or not, so that they were not asked for an opinion. The answer availed not. The commissioners insisted on meeting the monks assembled in the Chapterhouse. Here once more the question was put, and an unequivocal answer demanded. The Prior, therefore, in presence of his monks replied that he could not understand how a marriage celebrated according to the rites of the Church, and so long observed, could be made void. That night the Prior and Procurator were not in their cells, but found cold harbour within the Tower. They lay there for a month, during which time there were sent to them Stokesley, Bishop of London, and Lee, Archbishop of York—not to be confused with Roland Lee of evil memory—who at length persuaded the Carthusians that the question was not one on which they were justified in sacrificing the lives of themselves and of all within their convent. Unwillingly the two men consented, and that day they were once more walking through the familiar streets back to their beloved cells. It is not made plain in Chauncy's account when they met the Fathers in Chapter, but he describes how the Prior addressed them telling them

* The reader is referred to the *D.N.B.* for the lives of these men.

that their hour had not yet come, and how he had dreamed on the night of his liberation that in a year's time he should be carried back to that same prison there to end his course. And how, though faith must not be given to dreams, he foresaw that further trial lay before them. It is evident from Chauncy's words that the commissioners had already "returned empty-handed, having come to tender the oath." But at their third visit on May 24, 1534, Houghton setting the example, the monks signed their allegiance to the Act of Succession, "so far as it was lawful," and for the moment the danger was averted.

But the clouds returned in the autumn. In Nov. 1534, the Act of Supremacy was passed, declaring the King to be the only Supreme Head of the Church, and making it high treason to deny the claim, and in the spring of 1535 it was further enacted and proclaimed that any suspected person might be required to assent by oath to the Act. The fulfilment of the Prior's forecast was in full view. Calling together the Chapter he made known to them what case they were in. To realise the true position of these men, innocent of disloyal intent, we need to remember that for knowledge of events outside they were dependent on this one source of information, namely, the address of the Prior to them in Chapter—and never would the address touch upon external matters save in a case such as this unique in their history—where a religious question was involved. The London monks, moreover, were more strictly secluded from the outer world, it would seem, than any other Carthusians. The prohibition set by the visitors in 1405,* whereby the monks lost the privilege of the weekly walk "spatiamentum," and were not allowed "on any pretext" to go beyond the cloister, was, it would appear, never relaxed. For Chauncy says expressly that up to the time of the great trouble—that is the period of dissolution—the Fathers had not gone beyond the enclosure. And he says in another passage, describing the convent life, that when Seculars came to stay in the convent, "The Brothers, *i.e.* lay brothers, were accustomed on the first arrival of any

* See Chap. V, p. 61.

visitor and on receiving the salutation of Seculars to request them not to acquaint the Brothers with any rumours or with what was going on in the world." The little band of men who met that day in the Chapterhouse to hear the Prior's announcement, were, in the main, as ignorant of outside polemics as they were innocent of all wish to share them. To challenge such men on suspicion of an opinion which they held, or were thought to hold, was to create a treason where none had before existed.

At this point we find our chief authority for much which happened inside the monastery in the well-known record of Dom Maurice Chauncy, a professed monk of Charterhouse. He was a Hertfordshire man, born about 1513, and after Oxford and Gray's Inn he became a postulant, and took the final vows in the last year of John Houghton's Priorate, 1534. He was, as will presently be seen, one of the firmest of the monks after Houghton's death in resisting all the efforts which were made to get the remaining monks to sign the oath of the Supremacy. He was, indeed, so marked a dissentient that he was one of the four selected for removal, and was sent to Beauvale, whence he presently returned in no more concessive mood. But, eventually, a good deal through the influence of the Brigittine Monks of Sion, he gave way and signed. This act tinged the whole of the rest of his life with deep remorse—a remorse which makes itself felt through all the pages of his narrative. At the expulsion of the monks in 1538 Maurice Chauncy was one of those who passed out of the gates with a pension—it is doubtful if he ever touched it—and he, with one lay brother, reached Bruges, where he was received into the Chartreuse of Val de Grace, and he remained there sixteen years till the Coronation of Queen Mary, when he returned to England, and was presently made Prior of the reopened Charterhouse of Sheen. At Mary's death he had once more to retire to Val de Grace,* of Bruges, where two years later he became Prior ; but presently, as the House became more

* This monastery has disappeared. A street behind the Halles retains the name of "La Rue des Chartreux," and the Museum des Hospices occupies the site.

crowded, he was allowed to create a separate House in Bruges, which obtained the name of Sheen Anglorum. But here again the rest was to be broken. In 1578 the monks of Sheen Anglorum were expelled from Bruges with those of other orders, and took refuge at Louvain. Maurice Chauncy, still Prior of the almost homeless little band, as a last resource travelled to Spain to seek the aid of Philip II, with what success is not known, for whatever message of hope or disappointment he carried with him never reached his brethren. He died on the way home at the Chartreuse of Paris [July 12, 1581] at the age of sixty-eight.

The record is said, in the Introduction to the latest edition,* to have been written about 1539. But this can hardly be the case, since in one of the latest chapters the writer speaks of the convent having passed to the possession of Lord North a year and a half before. Since Lord North (then Sir Edward) obtained his letters from Henry, on April 14, 1545, and, taking Maurice Chauncy's words to the letter, his record cannot have been written earlier than the last months of 1546.

Allowing for the presence of much which is miraculous and visionary in character, and which will be accepted or rejected, or explained, according to the temperament of the reader, there remains a perfectly simple and obviously truthful narrative of historical events as he saw them and took part in them. Wherever the account can be compared with outside contemporary records of the day, or with the evidence of legal documents, Chauncy's narrative shows discrepancies so slight as to be of no importance. Froude, indeed, challenges one important statement with reference to Cromwell's action at the trial of John Houghton, but hardly comes off victorious. It is, however, for the actual course of events within the cloister that we are able to accept Chauncy's pages as a perfectly trustworthy guide. No document more touching, more truly pathetic, exists in the English language than this simple record of the way in which eighteen Englishmen faced a fate which they could

* An English translation was published by Burnes and Oates, 1890.

have averted—as many did avert it—by a stroke of the pen. Opinions on the general question of the Reformation in England, and of an infinite number of points and incidents which arose within it and out of it are almost as diverse to-day as they were in that century. On one point there can be no two opinions amongst honest men of whatever colour of religious thought—namely, that these brave English gentlemen, who preferred to die rather than to give their conscience the lie, are rightly called by men of all faiths or of none by the name of Martyrs.

To return, however, to the gathering of the Fathers to hear the message which their Prior had for them. Chauncy preserves for us, if not the exact words, the substance of the Prior's address. After explaining to them what was impending, to their great consternation he told them that his chief grief was for the younger brethren, who being sent out into the world again might learn its evil lesson and go back to the flesh. Then he spoke of his own debt to God if he should thence lose any of the souls entrusted to him. With one voice they cried that they would rather die in their simplicity. The Prior resumed—

" Would it might be so that one death may make us alive whom one life hath brought to death, but I do not believe they intend so great a good for us or to do themselves so much harm. Many of you are from a noble race. This rather, I think, they will do. They will deliver you elder ones and me to death and let the younger ones go where they will, into a land not their own. Wherefore, if my consent be alone required, I will throw myself on the mercy of God, and be anathema for these my least brethren and consent to the King's will, ' si licite fieri possit,' in order to preserve them from so many and such great future dangers. If, however, they shall decree that all shall consent, and if the death of one (that the whole people perish not) shall not suffice, then, may the will of God be done, and I would wish it might be by the equal sacrifice of us all."

Then John Houghton bid them choose each a confessor whom he would, and the next morning he proposed to them

a day of solemn reconciliation, which having come "he preached a sermon on charity, patience, and firm adhesion to God in adversity, treating those five verses of the Psalm (lx.), 'O God, Thou hast cast us out and destroyed us.'" Then, asking the Fathers and Brothers to do what they saw him do, he knelt before each in turn, passing from the choir of the Fathers to that of the Lay Brothers, and from each of them down to the last Lay Brother he asked forgiveness if at any time he had done aught against him in thought or word or deed. Each Father and each Brother did the same. And so at peace with one another and with God these brave men waited quietly for the end.

It was not far away. And it was brought nearer by the simple-minded act of the Carthusians themselves. For it happened that at this time there came to London Prior Robert Lawrence, of Beauvale, once a monk of our cloister, who had come on a visit of affection, and Prior Augustine Webster, of Axholme, once a monk of Shene, on the business of his House. Both, naturally, were lodged in our monastery, and their visit was destined to prove fateful. For the three Priors in all simplicity of heart only, conscious of their loyalty to their King, and doubtless convinced of the reasonableness of their own position, conceived that if they should have audience of Thomas Cromwell and lay their case before him they might obtain some easement that should spare them violation of their conscience without loss of loyalty to Henry. They little knew their man. It was the very step that placed them in his power. As yet the oath had not been technically demanded of them—though the demand was, of course, to come. The three Priors, one Tuesday in April, 1535—it appears to have been April 13—Chauncy tells us, laid their case before Cromwell, who not only denied their petition, but ordered them to be sent to the Tower as rebels. In

* It is not the Carthusian custom to deliver sermons in the church, but in the Chapterhouse, but the expression that the Prior went through his own choir and then to the other choir, *i.e.* the lay brothers' portion, suggests that this touching scene took place in the church which (see Chap. VI) was divided by the usual screen into two portions.

the Tower, Cromwell, with his commissioners, visited Houghton and questioned them with no fresh result. A fourth recusant, Father Richard Reynolds, a Brigittine Monk of Sion, said by Cardinal Pole to have been the most learned monk in England, had meanwhile been sent to the Tower. It was upon the answers given by the four men to the interrogatories in the Tower that their indictment was finally laid.

The three Carthusian Priors and Father Reynolds were taken to Westminster on April 29 and charged that they, "treacherously machinating and desiring to deprive the King of his title as Supreme Head of the Church, did on April 26 (27 Henry VIII) at the Tower of London openly declare and say "the King our Sovereign Lord is not supreme head on earth of the Church of England."

Having been once more asked if they would submit, and declining to do aught which was contrary to the law of God, they were committed for trial and the jury was returned. Next day, April 29, the trial continued, and the verdict was returned. It seems that the three Carthusians said little or nothing. Reynolds, who had also intended to keep silence, in answer to a direct question from Sir Thomas Audley, spoke clearly and boldly. But speech or silence were to be of equal avail. The jury, according to Chauncy, on the first day were unwilling to convict, since they could find no malice. He states that Cromwell, having learnt of their disposition, sent a messenger twice over with threats which had the required effect. Froude sets this statement aside on the double ground that the jury was empanelled on the 29th, and the verdict given that same day—here the record is against him—and also that the conduct attributed to Cromwell is foreign to his character. The latter plea is hardly convincing, or perhaps convincing on reflection, in the very opposite direction. But, however arrived at, the verdict was Guilty and the sentence Death. Five days later the people of London saw a sight till then unseen. The three Carthusians in their white habits, with Reynolds the Brigittine, were "drawn" on hurdles through the city and out to Tyburn,

THE OAK DOOR (*c.* 1512). THE NORFOLK LIONS (1565–1571).

and there, with circumstances of ghastly cruelty—ghastly even in those brutal days—were hanged and quartered (while still alive, it is said), the first who ever suffered in England in the robe of a religious order. The London populace, used to seeing any day, or every day, some few of their kind gasp out their lives on those gallows for this crime or for that, or for none at all, were not, it may be supposed, easily moved to sympathy. But this time there ran strange rumours among the mob, and strange murmurs for a time, which showed that for once they were deeply stirred. It was said that Henry himself had been one of the masked horsemen of high degree who had watched the scene, and in the long and deadly drought which fell upon the crops that summer it became a common saying that it had not rained ever since the Carthusians died.

The day after the execution of John Houghton his parboiled limbs, after the hideous fashion of the day, were sent hither and thither to the usual spots within the city, while "to the gate of our House" was affixed one arm of the dead Prior. Chauncy tells how, on the third day, as "two of ours"—lay brothers, for such they must have been—met beneath the gate the poor limb fell from its place, and having been reverently placed within a chest, together with the shirt in which the Prior had died, was buried in a secret subterranean place "until God should bring back the congregation and have pity on us." The fate of the chest—whether it was removed, or whether it has since been found and not recognised, or whether it still remains somewhere beneath our soil, is unknown. A portion of the shirt together with the account, written in Houghton's own hand, after his sentence, of all the questions that had been put to him, and of his answers to them, passed through Chauncy's keeping and were sent by the hand of a Spanish gentleman, Peter Barin, to the Pope, Paul III.

Cromwell had chosen his policy. He had burnt his ships. Henceforth there was no return. It is probable, indeed, that the act of the Carthusians, Godsend as it was to him, had yet been so unexpected that it led to a speedier development of his plans than he had been able to foresee.

Before the middle of July John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More had died on Tower Hill by a less cruel death than John Houghton, but on the same charge. But, before that, three more monks of the convent had suffered the same fate as their Prior. These were Humphrey Middlemore, formerly Procurator under Houghton, and recently Vicar, William Exmew, Procurator in succession to Middlemore—these two being, of course, the most important officers left in the convent—while to them was added a choir monk, Sebastian Newdigate,* the reason of whose selection is not at first apparent. He was a man of good family, once well known in Town society and at Court, a playmate and friend of Henry's youth. Perhaps it was for that very reason that he was chosen, that it might be seen that no bond of friendship or of favour was now to avail. It was believed at the time—it is, indeed, recorded as a fact by Father George Transom (*d.* 1658)—that when the three men were in the Marshalsea, where they were chained upright to columns, Sebastian Newdigate was visited by Henry in disguise in the vain hope of persuading him to change his resolution. But neither King nor Commissioner effected anything. The three men at their trial at Westminster bore themselves fearlessly and met their death as fearlessly, when it came to them at Tyburn, on June 19, a few days only before the execution of John Fisher.

* Other accounts make this visit to have taken place while Sebastian was still in his cell at Charterhouse.

CHAPTER X

THE LAST YEARS OF THE MONASTERY

John Houghton died on May 4, 1535. It took two whole years and some odd days from that time before Thomas Cromwell obtained even a partial submission to the Act of Supremacy from the remaining monks. The history of those two years in Charterhouse makes sorry reading. As one follows the system of petty tyrannies, of mean traps, of unworthy pressure by which the monks were day by day distressed, one has to ask why Cromwell suddenly, after the double scene at Tyburn, abandoned the policy of violence to which he had seemed committed, and for a time adopted these less drastic methods. The answer is easy. He had everything to gain for his policy if he could obtain his end by a submission which might be made to seem voluntary without risking the temper of the populace by further executions, and lighting in London the hidden fire which he knew to be burning in Yorkshire and the North, presently to burst into a flame which threatened to consume those men who had heated the furnace. And so for two whole years every method was tried upon the convent. Three men, Bedyll, John Whalley, Jasper Fyloll, were now to be used as the chief agents for the reduction of the stronghold. Of these Whalley became the first resident commissioner, being quartered doubtless in the guesthouse. They were, perhaps, some degrees less base of character than such men as Bishop Roland Lee, London, and Layton, who were doing Cromwell's work in other parts of England. Also they were less effective. Thomas Bedyll—Archdeacon of Cornwall,

which he probably never saw—one of the Royal Chaplains and the possessor of benefices which occupy a long paragraph in the Dictionary of National Biography, had done yeoman's service in the matter of the divorce, and had received his reward. He was sent to Charterhouse on the very day of Houghton's death, and it was on his report of their obstinacy that Middlemore, Exmew, and Newdigate perished. Jaspar Fyloll, one of Cromwell's servants, was set rather to make report on and find material out of the domestic affairs of the monastery. In a letter written to Cromwell, on the 5th of that September, after giving some details of finance, and adding interesting statements as to the doles of bread and ale and fish given to strangers at the buttery door, he adds: "These Charterhouse monks would be called solitary, but to the cloister door there be above twenty-four keys in the hands of twenty-four persons, and it is likely that many letters, unprofitable tales and tidings, and sometimes perverse counsel come and go by reason thereof. Also to the buttery door there be twelve sundry keys in twelve men's hands wherein seems to be small husbandry." The passage is worth quoting, since it is the nearest approach which Cromwell ever obtained from his commissioners to a charge of doubtful living in the convent of Charterhouse. It need only be said—as Dom Hendriks points out—that the twenty-four keys were the keys of each monk's cell—there were twenty-four in the Great Cloister—and not of the door giving access to the monastery, while the twelve keys of the buttery were the keys in the hands of the twelve lay brothers whose duty it was to carry the daily pittance from the buttery to the hatches of the cells in the Great Cloister. Certainly Jaspar Fyloll had not that rich scent for carrion which London and his comrades possessed. To the letter Fyloll added a list of the monks under the letters of the cells which they inhabited, giving his estimate of the men—with reference, of course, to the likelihood of their submitting—with the letters *g* and *b* for "good" and "bad." The list is unhappily lost, but the letter survives in the British Museum.

We need not follow too closely, in all the pitiful details, the course of treatment which now followed. Cromwell presently reinforced Whalley and Fyloll, and supplied six resident governors—" temporal persons," of whom three were to be always within the convent day and night. These governors carried out the orders of Cromwell, the suggestions of Fyloll, and more of their own. The monks, who had already been plied with quite a company of preachers, whose names we know, had now to receive a resident preacher, " the said preachers to have their chambers there," who four times a week endeavoured to turn them. Once, indeed, four of the monks were taken out of the choir during service and carried to St. Paul's Cross for a like purpose. The commissioners were present at meetings of the chapter. The books of the monks—the statutes of Bruno are specially mentioned—were taken from them. It is now that the fine library of the monastery disappears from knowledge. They were supplied each in his cell with a copy of a book called " The Way of Peace," which each monk, save one, forthwith returned unread. John Rochester retained his copy for five days, at the end of which time he " burnt him." At the ears and the eyes of the monks the commissioners found no entrance. Nor did they fare better with their mouths. The refectory arrangements were altered—four messing at each of the six tables. The lay brother cooks were removed from office, and cooks from outside were sent in, who doubtless cooked flesh meat for the " Governors " in the guesthouse. Endeavour was made to get the monks and the lay brothers to eat meat. It failed in both instances, though flesh was served both in guesthouse and freytor.* Short commons, with brief intervals of plenty, also failed. Everything failed. Then early in 1536 Cromwell appointed a Prior of his own choice—there had been none since May 4 of the previous year—William Trafford, late a monk of Beauvale, who in the Nottinghamshire Charterhouse had shown the boldest face in resisting the Act of Supremacy. It has never been known by what means he was won over, but

* Spelt " fraytowr " in Fyloll's recommendations.

now in London he set about his task of convincing his brethren with no small confidence. He also was, for a while, doomed to failure. The policy of Cromwell in endeavouring to disintegrate the community by getting them to adopt changes in their rule which would have violated their conscience and destroyed their self-respect and the respect of others, was once more to be disappointed. On May 4, 1536, the experiment was tried of sending four of the most stiff-necked away to the North. John Rochester and James Walworth were sent to the Charterhouse of Hull. In May, 1537, these two men were condemned to death at York by the third Duke of Norfolk and were there hung in chains. The charge against them was not, as is often said, a direct sharing in the "Pilgrimage of Grace." The "true bill" against them makes it clear that they died for having "hidden traitors and rebels in the monastery of Our Lady by Hull," and that they had "traitorously and maliciously affirmed that the aforesaid Lord the King was not now Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England."

John Fox and Maurice Chauncy were sent to the Charterhouse of Beauvale, and returned presently to London.

After the departure of these four monks to the North a full year was yet to pass without effect. Meanwhile eight more monks were sent for a season to Sion to come within the influence of the dying Father Pewterer, who once had counselled Houghton to go forward to his end, and now was counselling the Carthusians to yield. They returned to Charterhouse and once more refused the oath. Yet the advice of a dying man, whose name had been held in such honour by them, no doubt had weakened their will. Be that how it may, on May 18 of that year, 1537, two years and a fortnight after Houghton had died, twenty of the Carthusians at length signed the oath. Of these, William Trafford was one. There were nine choir monks —all of whom had been under Houghton—and four lay brothers. The remainder were apparently monks from other Charterhouses dwelling in the convent. Ten men,

of whom four were monks and six were conversi (lay brothers), still refused to sign. The twenty were allowed to remain in Charterhouse; the ten were, on May 29, thrown into Newgate.

The fate of these men was more piteous than that of those who had died at Tyburn or at York. They were to perish unseen, all save one. For it was still of Cromwell's policy not to make open spectacle in London of the constancy of the Carthusians. They were chained upright to columns in one of the dungeons of Newgate—the prisons of those days need no pourtraying—to die slowly in filth and starvation. They never thought of yielding any more than Cromwell and Bedyll thought of pitying. One bright light shines out of that darkness. It is recorded that Margaret Clements, the adopted daughter of Sir Thomas More, with the connivance of the gaolers—not difficult to buy in those days—visited the prison disguised as a milk-maid and there, with womanly kindness, brought sustenance to their lips, and did for the dying men such helpful acts as woman can. They lived, perhaps through her means, some six weeks longer than one would have expected, but perished in the heat of June. Let Thomas Bedyll be his own recorder. Here is the extract from his letter to Cromwell, June 14, 1537 :—

"My very good Lord. After my most hearty commendations it shall please your Lordship to understand that the monks of the Charterhouse here in London which were committed to Newgate for their traitorous behaviour long time continued against the King's grace, be almost despatched by the hand of God, as it may appear to you by the bill inclosed. Whereof considering their behaviour and the whole matter I am not sorry, but would that all such as love not the King's highness and his worldly honour were in like case."

So wrote Thomas Bedyll, the King's Chaplain, Cromwell's secretary, while the ten men lay dead or dying, despatched, or to be despatched, "by the hand of God." One prefers to make no comment. To the list which he attaches to

his letter I have added the dates at which the various men perished one by one.

" There be departed
Brother William Greenwood (*d.* June 6).
Dom John Davy (*d.* June 8).
Brother Robert Salt (*d.* June 9).
Brother Walter Person (*d.* June 10).
Dom Thomas Green (*d.* June 10).
" There be even at the point of death
Brother Thomas Scriven (*d.* June 15).
Brother Thomas Reding (*d.* June 16).
" There be sick
Dom Thomas Johnson (*d.* Sept. 20).
Brother William Horn (recovered; executed at Tyburn, 1540).
" One is whole. Dom Beer (*d.* Aug. 9)."

It will be seen that Beer died while Horn recovered, and was presently transferred to the Tower, whence, three years later, on August 4, 1540, he was carried to Tyburn and executed there.

William Trafford, and the Carthusians who had submitted, remained in Charterhouse, where they were presently joined by John Fox and Maurice Chauncy, both of whom, having been brought from Beauvale to Sion, had there at length given way, to the lifelong sorrow and remorse of Chauncy.

If the monks had dreamed that they would still be able to maintain their existence as a Carthusian monastery, the dream was not of long duration. When the struggle between King and Conscience had first arisen the scheme of the suppression of monasteries had not yet been made public, nor, so far as the larger monasteries were concerned, had it taken visible shape or been announced when Houghton died. The question which was to break to pieces the community of Charterhouse, till, in 1537, death or submission had carried the point, was always that of the supreme headship of Henry in the Church. But by the time that Charterhouse had submitted, in May, 1537, the dissolution

of the greater monasteries and the confiscation of their goods had already taken its place in the programme which, little by little since 1533, had unrolled itself before the people of England. The dying monks in Newgate were still hanging to their columns when, on June 10 of that year, William Trafford, under the seal of the Monastery, signed the surrender of the House, with all its properties, into the hands of the King. The Monastery was allowed to continue, a mockery of its former self, till November 15, when our great oak doors * of the gatehouse were closed for ever behind the monks as they passed out into the world.

* These doors still exist *in situ*.

CHAPTER XI

"QUOMODO SEDET SOLA CIVITAS"

For nearly three years the great monastery lay desolate. Two very important documents in the Record Office give us some picture of its condition when the monks had left it. The first of these is the inventory attached to the deed of surrender. The second, even more interesting, is an inventory made by William Daylle, who claimed wages as caretaker for one year and a half, and at the end of that time made his report.

As we read through the surrender inventory we become assured that already, before it was made, much petty plundering had gone on, and very much had been removed. We have already alluded to the earlier and official removal of the library under Cromwell's orders in 1535. We now learn that the outgoing monks, in Nov., 1538, were allowed to take their bedding and beds "and stuff within their cells," and their own books (probably the supply of amended literature sent in for their reformation). We learn that from the church 447 ounces of silver—including doubtless the silver basins, the enamelled silver pyx, the holy water stoup, and the silver bell, which Bishop Northburgh, joint founder with Manny, had left—were delivered to John Williams for the King, together with such vestments as were of value (we read, for example, of an angel in gold embroidered with pearl: of vestments of baudykin and white velvet and other things). But much else had evidently gone and is not accounted for. As we are led, by the sorrowful list, from deserted chamber to chamber, and read of their forlorn contents, we know that this was not

the full equipment of a great and thriving monastery. There is no word of the contents of the guesthouses; perhaps they were the perquisites of the six governors who had lived there. William Trafford, too, was perhaps within his rights in leaving nothing but "a pan and a furnesse" in the new Prior's cell—he had already been given "six silver spoons and a fatte of silver" in reward. But what of all the kitchen battery? Perhaps the "temporal cooks" might have given us the answer. And what of many other things which belong of necessity to a Charterhouse in being, but are not in that inventory?

As we turn from this bare list of derelict effects to the account of his stewardship sent in by William Daylle, the mind passes from pots and pans to personalities. We get a picture of men and characters for which the monastery, with its silent cells, its fruit-laden orchards, its wilderness garden, its deserted church, become the background. Historical names take accidental place in the picture—we may doubt if some of their owners would care to have had it known how good their eye was for petty perquisites. As was fitting, the King himself got the lion's share, not as the due of the Crown in its high impersonality, but as for his own consumption—with or without his knowledge. Gerard Haydon set apart for the King's share forty-seven cases of glass, and all the wood, timber, and stone "lying abroad in the Charterhouse" (except twelve loads which Dr. Layton secured). There are five entries of bay trees, of fruit trees (ninety-one in number), of rosemary and other shrubs for the King's garden at Chelsea, whither went also a load of hay; and one hundred carp went for the King to Fey's mill pond (which I take to be Fogswell pond in Smithfield). Small gratifications, these, which we must not grudge to one who, Mr. Froude assures us, felt so deeply the painful necessities that were put upon him. Master Richard Cromwell's name occurs, he, too, an amateur of bay trees, and a judge, too, of the value of wainscot, which he had from two cells under token—a gold ring—from the Lord Privy Seal, Thomas Cromwell. Richard Cromwell, whose true name was Williams, was

nephew of Thomas Cromwell, and took his name. He was great-great-grandfather of Oliver Cromwell. Dr. Layton had not taken an active part in the suppression of Charterhouse, being employed on similar work elsewhere. But he lived in Paternoster Row, and was allowed to exercise his fancy, which led him to secure three merlin birds and their appurtenances, three boards in the bake-house, and a bundle of rose trees, with the more solid selection of twelve loads of timber. One Dr. Cave seems to have made more of a speciality of foodstuffs. He had the wheat and the malt. Also the vinegar, and the kitchen stuff, and the buttery stuff. But it is just to his unknown memory to say he paid for it. As for Cromwell himself, " My Lord Privy Seal " was satisfied with a modest bundle of herbs. And so, with King and subject, with Lord Privy Seal and bargain-hunting servitors and dealers, we learn which drew prizes in the great lottery, and which drew blanks. But it is not till we come to the apportioning to various tenants of the available cells of the dismantled place, that we reach the climax of interest.

The cells of the south wing of the Great Cloister east of the church adjoined several houses in the north-east angle of Charterhouse Church Yard (Square) which, as we know from ancient leases, were the property of the Priory. One of these we know to have been rented in 1529 to John Neville, third Lord Latimer, who shortly after married Catharine Parr—destined hereafter to become Queen of England. The house, we may remind the reader in passing, became, when Catharine dwelt in it up to 1542, the centre of a highly learned and brilliant circle of literary men, a kind of symposium where, men whispered, the new views were presently far from unknown. This house, which seems to have been approximately on the site of Nos. 10, 11, in the present square, had its northern boundary hard up against the monastery buildings. It becomes, therefore, of curious interest when we read the item, " There was one little Sir William defaced and took down all the new wainscot in a cell which was late billeted to his own use as he intended." This " little Sir William " was Sir William

Parr, brother of Queen Catharine, who had been knighted in March, 1539. One may observe here that the monks had been allowed to carry away the wainscot of their cells. But one must not forget that the monks who had died at Tyburn, York, and Newgate had left their cells intact, and the few cells which offered spoil of wainscot to the seekers after unconsidered trifles are thus accounted for.

We may feel sure, again, that the three cells spoken of as adjoining Sir Arthur D'Arcy's house were also in that portion of the cloister. The expression makes us wonder which the house was. Sir Arthur D'Arcy, indeed, obtained the reversion of Lord Latimer's house in 1542, but Daylle's inventory can hardly be late enough for that. Moreover, Daylle speaks of Gerard Haydon's having had the keeping of Sir Arthur's home first after the Suppression, which seems to suggest the earlier date. Sir Arthur D'Arcy, a friend and *protégé* of Cromwell, was the son of that Lord D'Arcy who died on Tower Hill in 1536, for his share in the Pilgrimage of Grace. The son, perhaps by Cromwell's influence, retained the favour of the Crown, and held good posts. After Lord Latimer's death and Catharine Parr's departure from her home in Charterhouse Square, we find the name of Sir Arthur in several leases and transfers of the house, in which also occur the names of Bell (Bishop of Worcester) and Sir John Tregonwell, the former of whom played a leading part in public life, and was chosen by Henry VIII to hold Anne Boleyn's daughter at the font, while Tregonwell was commissioner for the suppression of many of the monasteries of the west—a man of better fame than some others of the same employ. When D'Arcy gave up the tenure of the five cells we find from Daylle's account that he passed them on with the house in question to Lord Angus, and so we find Charterhouse giving shelter to one of the most picturesque figures of English or of Scottish history. Archibald Douglas, sixth Earl of Angus, was grandson of the Great Earl, Archibald Douglas, "Bell-the-Cat," who died on Flodden Field. The sixth earl, young, handsome, and of attractive character, had won the heart of Margaret Tudor, Dowager Queen

of Scotland, sister of Henry VIII. They were secretly married, and a less happy marriage could not have been devised. It produced no love between the pair, and it brought upon them both, but especially on Angus, the deadly hatred of all the Scottish nobles. The masterful lady soon tired of her young husband. She had no small portion of her brother's headstrong will, and something perhaps of his taste for divorce. Angus, indeed, beyond question gave Margaret good cause for jealousy, but by general belief Margaret herself was very indiscreet, if nothing worse. Their daughter, Margaret Douglas, who presently married Lennox, and became the mother of Henry Darnley, brought them small joy. They gradually drifted apart, and Queen Margaret determined to get a divorce. Henry VIII strongly opposed it, but the dowager was not a woman to be baulked. She openly sided with her husband's enemies, and when Angus fought his way into Edinburgh, she greeted him with a volley of firearms, which only killed a few onlookers who had followed from the High Street. The rupture was very soon complete. Something like civil war ensued between Angus and his many enemies. In 1528 Margaret had her way. Clement VII, through the Cardinal of Ancona, granted her a divorce. There was no legal ground for it, and Margaret must have failed in any modern court. To the end of her life Angus refused any view but that he was still married to her. Meanwhile her son James went far beyond her in fierce hatred of Angus and of all the Douglas family. In 1537 his sister, Janet Gordon, on a charge of poisoning, of which she was almost surely innocent—her real crime was that of showing sympathy with her brother—was burnt alive at Edinburgh Castle. Small wonder if Angus was for ever in arms against his King. An exile from Scotland, he was often in London, where Henry granted him a pension of 1000 marks and gave him shelter—perhaps the lodging in Charterhouse was from that source. It was not till some years after 1543, when Mary Stuart was crowned Queen, that he slowly gave his allegiance to her and to Scotland. The act of

Ralph Evers, the English commander, who had wantonly outraged the tombs of the Douglas at Melrose, had its share in the change. Angus waylaid him a few days later at Ancrum Moor, when the whole moorside suddenly became alive with men who rose from the heather and swept from the face of the earth the English troops and their leader. Never was Nemesis in a mood more swift nor yet more picturesque. It was otherwise at Pinkie a few years later, in 1547. There, by strange coincidence, it was the pikes under Angus, who alone of all the Scottish host made good their victory in that part of the field against Sir Arthur D'Arcy's and Grey's cavalry division of the English army, which that day was commanded by Somerset and John Dudley, himself hereafter for three short months to be, as Duke of Northumberland, the owner of Charterhouse. And so, with strange changes of fortune, this brave adventurous exile, whose life was as full of romance as his character was of a certain chivalry, passed presently out of history to his rest at Abernethy. The short-time tenant of the cell in Charterhouse could have little foreseen the day not far ahead, when his direct descendant, through whom he was to become the ancestor of a great royal line, should come back to this same spot as King of England.

The third occupant, Sir Marmaduke Constable, was also one who had shared the incidents which made the history of his day. A brave and capable soldier himself, and the descendant of a line of soldiers, he had fought on the English side at Flodden, had taken part in the field of the Cloth of Gold, and had won honour at Jedburgh and at Fernhurst. At the time when the cells at Charterhouse were in his keeping he was a member of the Council of the North. Probably he used the cells on occasion of his return from time to time to London.

But these uses of the deserted monastery were confined to a very small portion of it. In the main the monastery had no use. Maurice Chauncy tells an appalling tale of its profanation. He says, "Our House was given over to strangers and converted to the vilest uses. In the

church they placed tents and implements of war, they hewed with axes not only the images of the saints, but even of the Crucified, and stamped upon them. They leapt on the holy altars, danced, and played with dice, and committed in that sacred place other detestable and abominable things rather to be wept over than related." I have already expressed the view that Maurice Chauncy may be accepted as a safe witness for what happened within the monastery when he was still within it. But for what took place when he was out of England and had to depend on second-hand hearsay, we may, perhaps, hope that he need not be followed to the extreme of all his details. Bad enough at its best, one may trust that the profanation did not reach the worst. For the first year and a half at least after the suppression, covered as it is by Daylle's report, we incidentally learn that the church, kept under lock and key by Master Doctor Cave, was inaccessible, and therefore presumably safe. The state of things hinted at in the last sentence, if we must accept it, could only belong to the three years from 1542 to 1545. For in the former of these years we find by letters patent of June 12, 1542, that Henry assigned the site to two of his servants, John Bridges, "valect," and Thomas Hales, "gromet," as a depository for the King's tents, hunting nets (haldrum), and new pavilions—for which the many empty chambers no doubt were found convenient.

If one asks what fitness there could be in the storing of hunting nets in such a site, one may remind the reader that in those days the neighbourhood was by no means without opportunity of sport. A hundred years later it was still the custom of the city fathers to meet in the neighbourhood of what is now Tottenham Court Road, and having dined—inevitably—to draw for a fox in the coppices of that open country.* The Pavilions, one supposes, would be handy at Charterhouse for use at the jousts of neighbouring Smithfield.

* I have myself, when a boy, met, at Cambridge, about 1860, an old Carthusian, aged then about seventy, who assured me that as a boy he had followed snipe in the wet meadows between Charterhouse and Islington.

CHAPEL: RIGHT AISLE THE MONASTERY CHURCH.

Meanwhile, Sir Edward North, Knight and Privy Councillor, who had succeeded the unhappy Thomas Cromwell, whose head fell in 1540, as Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, had good means of knowing the value of such a site, and on April 14, 1545, letters patent transferred the Priory site with all its buildings and grounds from Hale and Bridges to the shrewd nobleman, while the King's nets and pavilions found fresh refuge in the ruined Priory of St. John of Jerusalem hard by.

We are standing now on the threshold of a new period. The monastery days are over. The mansion days begin. From this time for sixty-six years [1545–1611] the links with the outer world are those which bind it with strange intimacy to the stirring history of Tudor and Jacobean days.

CHAPTER XII

THE MANSION PERIOD—EDWARD LORD NORTH—THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND — LORD NORTH — 1545–1564

THE new owner of Charterhouse was a typical product of his age. That age was prolific in men of very noble character, but also of men of very base character: of men on both sides of the great questions which rent England, who were noble enough to face any loss, even to that of life itself, sooner than betray their belief; and also of men base enough to make any profession and to do any deed if gain were to be got by it. And between these extremes lay a great mass, a whole series of gradated types, of men who, lodging their conscience in a kind of halfway house, were ready to move in this direction or that as the tide of popularity passed hither or thither. These were the men who played always for safety, and, in some cases, but by no means in all, were able to obtain it. To which of those diverse types the first private owner of Charterhouse belonged must be left to the reader to decide.

Edward North, who became Sir Edward in 1541, and Lord North in 1554, was the son of Roger North, citizen of London, and of Christiana Warcop, a lady of good family in Yorkshire. His father, not a rich man, afforded to send him first to St. Paul's School, and to Peterhouse, Cambridge, and afterwards entered him at the Inns of Court. By his undoubted abilities he soon made his mark at the Law, and we find him presently

retained as City Counsel. He may have owed this appointment in some measure to the influence of Alderman William Wilkinson who had married his sister, Joan North.* Edward North's versatility and culture made him acceptable in London society, where he was long a well-known figure. He now had his feet firmly planted on the ladder of success. We find him in 1530 joint clerk to Parliament with Sir Brian Tuke.† He became Serjeant-at-law and King's Serjeant somewhere about 1536. But, meanwhile, he had married Alice Squier, widow of John Brockendon, who brought him a large fortune, for which act of prudence his descendant and biographer Dudley North records, as in duty bound, his gratitude. He now bought the estate of Kirtling Towers near Newmarket, and a few years later we find him in Parliament as member for Cambridgeshire. Meanwhile, in 1540, the fall of Thomas Cromwell had come. The butcherly scene on Tower Hill in the summer of that year had ended a career that has no parallel in our history. That greatest disciple of Nicolas Machiavelli—the only disciple, indeed, who has ever put the doctrines of his master to the test of complete practice, had in the eleven years of his public life shaken the ancient systems, religious, political, social, to their very base. One of the details of his administration had been the foundation of the Court of Augmentations for dealing with the augmented Crown income resulting from the dissolution of the monasteries. Cromwell's death created vacancies in that Court. Sir Richard Rich became Chancellor of the Court, and North was appointed treasurer. In 1545, the year of his acquiring Charterhouse, he became joint Chancellor with Rich, who, presently resigning, left Sir Edward North as sole Chancellor. He was now in the full tide of his success. Dudley North—who in his

* See Patent Roll, No. 717, Feb., 1543. License to Sir John Williams (kinsman of Thomas Cromwell) to alienate to William Wilkinson and Joan his wife, a tenement (lately occupied by John Lelande the antiquary). We are able to identify this by successive leases as a house on the site which, after conveyance to Sir Edward North, became part of Rutland House, Charterhouse Square.

† Holbein's portraits of Sir Brian Tuke are now at Grosvenor House and Norwich.

biography naively admits more than once how little he knew about his ancestor—tells the often repeated tale that some one at Court had whispered ill opinions to Henry, and how the latter sent a messenger, no friend, to North, to summon him from Charterhouse—it was done with rudeness, says the story—to his presence. The King receives him angrily, charging him with having cheated him of certain lands in Middlesex (*i.e.* Charterhouse). North humbly pleads that the King had given them to him, and the King, presently pacified, treats him graciously. I am afraid the tale, however picturesque, has little in it to convince. North received the letters patent for Charterhouse in April, 1545. Henry died Jan. 28, 1547. This interview, if it ever took place, must have happened between those dates. Now North had already become a most conspicuous figure among Henry's servants as Chancellor of the Augmentations, a court very near to Henry's purse, which I fear was carried very near his heart. And there could have been few corners of Henry's realm more deeply impressed on his mind than Charterhouse and all that brought it to his memory. It is inconceivable that Henry should, in the short possible interval, have so lost touch with his minister and his affairs. Nor can we imagine Henry, even in his most gouty moments, adopting a method so casual when a notice to the Augmentation Office would have brought the information. Moreover, in 1546 North had already become a member of Henry's Privy Council, and in that same year, as death approached, Henry, making his will, had nominated North as one of the sixteen executors who were to act as guardians to Edward VI. The rapid change from the complete ignorance implied in the tale to the complete confidence implied in the facts, in so short a time, compels us to put aside the picturesque story, where many another of the tales which hang about the history of Charterhouse have had to go.

In Edward's reign, North remained a Privy Councillor, and we find him as witness to Edward's will, but he resigned, under pressure, it is said, the Chancellorship of Augmentations. As Edward's death drew near, and John Dudley,

Duke of Northumberland, matured his plans for the succession of his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, North, in appearance at least, threw in his lot with the great nobleman. His name appears upon the long list of those who had been gathered at Greenwich by Northumberland, and who, headed by Cranmer, signed the document which declared the Lady Jane to be the heir to the throne, Mary and Elizabeth disqualified by taint of birth. For once he had, like so many others, fully compromised himself. Possibly the reason of this may not be far to seek. He had, it would seem, resolved to abandon public life and retire to Kirtling. For he was at this very moment in negotiation with Northumberland for the sale of Charterhouse, and the deed of sale, in which no sum of purchase money is mentioned, is dated May 4, 1553, and, for the time, Charterhouse was no longer his. Northumberland became its owner.

One has to ask, What was Northumberland's object in buying Charterhouse? He was already owner of the magnificent palace of Durham House in the Strand. But Guildford Dudley and Lady Jane Grey had no separate palace in London. They were both living with their father at Durham House when they were sent for their death to the Tower. I am persuaded that Northumberland bought Charterhouse in 1553 as a palace for his son and daughter, till the day should come—it was not at that moment imminent—when Lady Jane should be Queen of England. Northumberland had already stored St. John's Priory with furniture for the mansion in Charterhouse. If Edward's life had been prolonged, there might have been many years of occupancy for Guildford Dudley and for Jane. The site was good enough, moreover, even for a Queen's Palace to arise within it. But, for himself, it is difficult to suppose that Northumberland would have needed it.

The death of Edward on July 6, 1553, brought with it the moment for testing Northumberland's scheme, as ill conducted as it was ill conceived. He had failed to reckon his own unpopularity and his own incapacity. In less than

seven weeks all was over. When John Dudley died on Tower Hill on August 22, this second owner of the mansion of Charterhouse had held it for fifteen weeks and three days only. It at once reverted, with all his other possessions, to the Crown.

Sir Edward North had, as we have seen, signed the Greenwich declaration in favour of Queen Jane. He had thereby incurred the guilt and the fate of a traitor. But within a few months we find him not merely pardoned—the greater number of the signatories were so—but receiving from Mary the grant once more of Charterhouse. Probably no money had passed from Northumberland to North. The deed, signed by Mary, is merely a repetition of that by which her father had originally conveyed the monastery to North, but the brief preamble contains the statement that Mary's grant to North was in recognition of services rendered. One at once has to ask, in face of the Greenwich declaration, what were these services? It can only suggest itself, and Dudley North himself suggests it without any reprobation of his ancestor's supposed treachery, that though North had on paper sided with the conspirators he had secretly given Mary an assurance of his support. Be this how it may, North was now once more owner of Charterhouse, and in high favour with Mary for the rest of her reign. It was probably this very favour which made him abandon the idea of retiring to Kirtling from public life. Under Mary he was once more a Privy Councillor, one of the nobles told off to receive Philip II on his arrival. He became Baron North of Kirtling, and was put upon the Council for the arrest and punishment of heretics.

Once more the scene changes. When the daughter of Catharine of Aragon ended her pathetic life in November, 1558, and the daughter of Anne Boleyn took her place upon the English throne, by what means was North to make for himself the transition from Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth as easy, as profitable withal, as the transition from Queen Jane to Queen Mary had been? The practised courtier proved equal to the occasion. Either on his

own offer or on a suggestion made to him, it was arranged that Elizabeth on her entry into London should be his guest at Charterhouse.*

Mary had died before the dawn of Nov. 17. On Nov. 20, a Sunday, Elizabeth had held her first Council of State at Hatfield, but her meeting with the general body of her nobles and gentlemen was not yet. On the Wednesday, Nov. 23, she set out from Hatfield and rode to London. At Highgate the Bishops met her and kissed her hand one by one. It was then that as Bonner approached she drew back her hand in horror from him. After a brief delay the cavalcade set out again. As they passed across the low lands between Islington and Charterhouse over which the mists were rising that late November afternoon, the Queen's highway proved so atrocious that the whole company abandoned it and took to the open fields, entering Charterhouse at the back, instead of again taking to the road which would have led them round to the main entrance in Charterhouse Churchyard. That same evening came greeting from Don Gomez Suarez de Figuerra de Cordova, Conde de Feria, ambassador to Philip II. With the greeting sent as from Philip came also a ring as from him. Next day Elizabeth held her first reception in London. The Courtyards and the Throne Room (Tapestry Room) were thronged with the great stream of titled and untitled subjects who came to do homage to "the splendid Tudor girl." Amongst them came, this time in person, and once more carrying some of the rings which the dying Mary had handed to Feria's fiancée (Jane Dormer) for conveyance to Elizabeth. The Queen, by one account, received him graciously, by another account with coldness. It seems that the magnificent future ruler of the Netherlands had introduced his master's suit with little fear of a refusal.† But Elizabeth, at five and twenty, had served as long an

* It must be remembered that the only royal palace in London, St. James, was out of the question, since there the dead Queen Mary lay, waiting her funeral at Westminster more than three weeks later.

† Feria's very frank description of the scene in the Tapestry Room is contained in a letter to his master Philip II, once in the archives at Simancas, now removed to Madrid.

apprenticeship to the ways of the world as Feria himself with all his diplomacy. It is certain that at no distant date from the Charterhouse interview Feria had learnt that he had met his match and hated her to the end of his life with an undying hatred.

The Queen remained five days in Charterhouse, and every day the throngs and the enthusiasm—genuine, moreover, as it had been five sad years ago, for her sister—grew every day. On the sixth day she set out for the Tower, whence to proceed, according to the ancient etiquette for sovereigns, to her cornation at Westminster. It was a splendid company that was marshalled that day in the little entrance court between the gatehouse and the portal of North's palace. When the Queen came down and took her place the gorgeous procession moved forward amongst the crowds gathered along her route. Let Henry Machyn add the colour to the scene in his own quaint words and quainter spelling—

"The xxviijth day of November the Queen removed to the Tower from the Lord North's plasse which was the Charter Howsse. The stretes unto the Tower of London was newe gravelled. Her grace rod thrugh Barbecan and Crepulgat, by London Wall unto Bysshope-gate and up to Leden-halle and through Gracyus Strett and Fanchyrche Strett; and a-for rod gentyllmen and knyghtes and lordes and after cam all the trumpets blohyng and then cam all the haroldes in a-ray; and my lord of Pembroke bare the Quen's sword; then cam her Grace on horsbake in purple welvett with a skarpe abowt her neke and serganttes of armes abowt here' Grace; and next after rod Robart Dudley her master of her horse; and so the gard with halberds. Ther was shyche shutying of Gunes as never was hard a-for; so to the towre with all the nobulles. And so here Grace lay in the towre unto the V day of Dessember that was sant Necolas evyn. And ther was in serten plasses Chylderyn with speches and odur places syngyng and playing with regalles."

And so the great procession passed out of the gatehouse and left the owner of the Charterhouse to his reflections.

Elizabeth might use a subject's wealth to her entertainment, but she was far too shrewd a judge of character to make use of such an one as North in any position of great trust for her perilous passage in the days that lay before. In each of the three previous reigns he had served as Privy Councillor. Elizabeth dispensed with his services. Dudley North tells us that his ancestor had already been living about this time above his income and Elizabeth was an expensive guest. North took no great gain from the days which Elizabeth had spent in Charterhouse.

There were other figures marshalled in the Courtyard that day besides North and the Queen herself who were destined to join their names to the history of Charterhouse. One of these was young Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, a boy of twenty-two, who sat his horse waiting to take his place at the head of the nobles as premier peer of England. He had already a great eye for a palace as for anything else that tasted of magnificence, and it may be that that day he had cast longing eyes on the place that was to be his some seven years hence, and which was to weave itself so closely into his story and his fate.

Once more, three years later, one knows not exactly why, Elizabeth spent three days as North's guest at Charterhouse from July 10 to July 13, coming thither from a visit of a few hours to the Tower

"for the inspectun of her mynts and her Grace whent owt of the Yron Gatt over Tower Hyll unto Algatt Chyrche and so down Hondyche to the Spyttyll and so downe Hoge lane and over the feldes to the Charter howse my Lord North's plase [here follows the description of her pageant once again] . . . and the feldes of pepull gret nomber as ever was sene and ther tared till Monday."

We read in Machyn how one of these nights—his statement is confused—she rode from "the Chaterhouse by Clarkynewell over the feldes unto the Sayvoy unto master secretore Sysselle to soper," and how "after grett

chere tyll mydnyght " . . . " she ryd to bed at the Charterhouse."

Once more, on the fourth day (July 13) the streets were new gravelled with sand, and the procession formed up in the courtyard for a royal progress through the city more gorgeous than the first. Machyn gives the route as Smithfield, Newgate, St. Nichilas' Shambles, Cheapside, Cornhyll to Aldgate, Whitechapel and back: " and all thes plases where hangyd with cloth of arres and carpetes and with sylke and Chepeside hangyd with Cloth of Gold and Cloth of Sylver and velvett of all colours and taffatas."

This time, tradition has it that when the Queen had left Charterhouse its owner found himself something like a ruined man, and that this was the cause of his giving up public life and spending most of his time at Kirtling Towers. It may be so, but for myself I think another reason the more probable. He was getting old. No man understood the signs of the times better than he. For him, under Elizabeth, public life had closed. He had played the great game with all its changes and chances for fully fifty years. It was time for him to be gone from it all, and so, in 1564, the last year of his life, he was in treaty with Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, for the sale of Charterhouse. He was back there in December, but the hand of death was on him. The last day of the year was the last day of his life. The contract was still unsigned when the new year came in, and Edward North had already passed to his rest. It was signed next day by his son, Lord Roger North, who thus, for a few hours only, was owner of Charterhouse, which from Jan. 1, 1565, was to bear the name of Howard House.

CHAPTER XIII

HOWARD HOUSE—THE FOURTH DUKE OF NORFOLK

When, on Jan. 1, 1565, the day after the death of Lord North, Charterhouse became the legal property of the Duke of Norfolk, it thereby obtained the name of Howard House which it was to bear through three successive ownerships. The name, indeed, did not entirely supplant that of Charterhouse. Both names are found in constant use till the foundation of the Hospital in 1611. The name of Howard House then dropped out of use, though it reappears from time to time and the ordinance map of London late in the nineteenth century still showed the name. Thomas Howard,* fourth Duke of Norfolk, was twenty-nine years old when he became the owner of Charterhouse. He was the grandson of that Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, who filled so large a place in the history of Henry VIII's day, and who on the night of Jan. 27, 1547, lay in the Tower awaiting execution on Tower Hill next morning. But the night brought with it the death of Henry himself, and the Constable on his own responsibility postponed the execution till the pleasure of the Council should be known. Spared, but imprisoned during Edward's reign, and restored to his title by Mary, he had lived to see the death of his enemy Northumberland, and dying in 1554, the first year of Mary's reign, had been succeeded by his grandson, our Thomas Howard, then a boy of eighteen.

His son, Henry Earl of Surrey—commonly known as

* There had been earlier Dukes of Norfolk of the Mowbray line. One of these in the reign of Richard II had founded the Charterhouse of Epworth in Axholme, where his arms may still be seen on the farmhouse which occupies one of the monastic buildings.

Surrey the poet—had died on the scaffold in 1536, the year before Henry's death, and had been the direct or indirect cause of the fall of his father. Their disaster had been brought about by Hertford's influence. Surrey, young, vain, gallant—described as "the most foolish proud boy in England—was free and reckless of speech, and not discreet of conduct. He had twice suffered imprisonment in the Fleet prison at the order of the Council for such enormities as shooting pebbles at citizens' windows of a night, and for eating meat in Lent. He had been bravely rash at the siege of Boulogne in 1545; and a year later, when Henry's death drew near and men in taverns discussed the question of the coming Protector for the boy-King Edward, Surrey had talked loudly of his father's claims in preference to those of Hertford. Brought to trial for these vapourings and further charged with having quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his own—according to an ancient grant, as he alleged, of Richard II to Thomas Mowbray—he was condemned on the evidence of his friend Sir Richard Southwell, and of his own sister, married to the Duke of Richmond, illegitimate son of the King. Technically guilty of high treason he laid down his life at the age of thirty on Tower Hill. To-day there are few Sundays on which worse treason is not uttered in Hyde Park. Surrey died less of his own treason than of Henry's gout.

His two sons, Thomas, aged ten, and Henry Earl of Northampton, were handed over by the Privy Council to the care, not of their mother, but of their aunt, Mary Fitzroy, the Duchess of Richmond—a choice which was evidently due to the belief that the Countess of Surrey was a devoted adherent of the old religion. The boy lost, thereby, a mother as well as a father. John Foxe, the martyrologist, then in deep poverty, was selected as his tutor and seems to have won the boy's affection, since it was he to whom the Duke sent in 1572 when his own hour was come. But in 1553, when the grandfather was set at liberty, Foxe was removed and White, Bishop of Lincoln, substituted. In that same year he acted as

first gentleman to Philip II on his arrival in England—he and Philip were destined to have other relationship later on—and the next year saw the boy installed at his grandfather's death as Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal of England (August 25, 1554).

It cannot be supposed that the bringing up which we have described in the home of his vice-mother, Mary Fitzroy, had been an ideal training in self-discipline and strength of character for a boy who had no doubt inherited from his father some of his foolish proudness and some too of his more dangerous traits, and who found himself, at the age of eighteen, the premier peer of England, possessed of all the means for gratifying his innate love of splendour. When a few years later he proudly told Elizabeth, who taxed him roundly with his ambition to marry Mary of Scots, that he counted himself more than Mary's equal when he found himself in his own Castle of Norwich, the speech, from many points of view, was typical of the man. Descended from Edward IV, a cousin of Queen Katharine Howard, a cousin of Queen Anne Boleyn, and therefore of Elizabeth, who indeed used to call him "cousin," he had in his veins blood as royal as that of the daughter of Mary of Guise, and pride, perhaps, to correspond. We have seen him as Earl Marshal heading Elizabeth's cavalcade as it rode from the doors of Lord North's Charterhouse. From that time forward he was to dance attendance, like many another young noble, on the imperious Lady. She sent him, perhaps to make trial of the stuff that was in him, in 1559 to take command of the Army of the North, much against his will, for the defence of Newcastle, but, shrewdly enough, with Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir John Croft as his advisers. He returned next year to Court life in London. Already he had been twice married. In 1556 he had taken to wife the Lady Mary Fitzalan, daughter of the twelfth Earl of Arundel, who died on August 27 of the next year, a month or two after the birth of her son. This boy, to whom Philip II stood godfather, was to become Philip Earl of Arundel, the next owner of Charterhouse. In 1558, at the age of 22, Norfolk married Lady Margaret

Audley,* daughter of Lord Chancellor Audley, of Audley Inn or End at Saffron Walden. She became the mother of Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, who was presently to sell Charterhouse to Thomas Sutton. But to return to Norfolk himself. In 1563, by the death of Margaret Audley, Norfolk was once more a widower, and still constantly in attendance on Elizabeth. He was with her in 1564 when she went to Cambridge. It was on this occasion that the sight of the unfinished buildings of Magdalen College, which his father-in-law, Lord Audley, had left, led him to make a gift towards their completion.

In January, 1565, Norfolk entered into possession of Charterhouse, and he seems at once to have set about the changes which were to make it perhaps the finest palace in London. With these I must deal more exactly in the next chapter. In 1567 he brought home to it his third duchess, Elizabeth Leyburne, daughter of Sir Francis Leyburne, of Cunswick Hall, Cumberland. But the poor lady's days in Charterhouse were few, for she died on Sept. 7 of that year. It was very soon after this third widowhood, namely, on August 5, 1568, that Norfolk entertained Queen Elizabeth at Howard House. It was her third visit to the place, though her first to him. Once more we get the picturesque vision of her progress as she passes from the Tower through the streets crowded with her subjects, the Queen, delighted at her reception, standing up from time to time to get a better view. De Silva, the Spanish Ambassador, shows in a letter to his master, Philip II, how greatly the scene impressed him, but of the reception itself at Howard House we have no record. It was, this time, only for one day. One wonders how matters stood between Norfolk and the Queen that August afternoon, for already there were rumours in the air of another marriage for Norfolk—and Elizabeth was no fool, except in her own matrimonial affairs. Men had already been talking of Norfolk as a match for Mary Stuart—

* The mistake of various historians of Charterhouse who record that Lord Audley owned the suppressed monastery in the reign of Henry VIII is doubtless to be traced to this source. Audley never owned Charterhouse.

THE GREAT HALL.

probably were talking of it that day at Charterhouse out of ear-shot of the Queen. She sat that day among her courtiers in the Banquet Hall a very few yards away from the rooms in which the treason was to be hatched, which, if it had succeeded, would have taken from her her throne and perhaps her life.

It is often stated that it was at the Conference of York in October of that year that the first suggestion of the marriage was made to Norfolk by Maitland of Lethington. No doubt both the latter and John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, did talk of it to him at York, but at that very time Lord Montague had spoken of it to Don Gueran d'Espes, the Spanish Ambassador, as a thing which had been for some time arranged, not indeed between the two principals, but by Lord Arundel and his party, and Gueran duly sent the news to Philip II. The thing, beyond doubt, had already taken shape in Norfolk's mind. His sister, Margaret Howard, Lady Scrope, wife to Lord Scrope, who was in charge of Mary at Carlisle Castle, was to act as his agent in his love affair—if that can be called a love affair where neither lover was destined ever to set eyes upon the other. Lady Scrope let Mary know from her brother that she had little to fear from the York Conference.

Norfolk duly went that October to York as Chief English Commissioner, with Lord Sussex and Sir Ralph Sadler as his colleagues, to meet the Scottish Commissioners—Moray, the Bishop of Ross (Lesley), and others—all gathered there nominally to find a method of peace between Mary and her subjects, but actually—for so the commission was regarded and treated—to inquire into the share of Mary in the murder of Darnley. The commission was as futile as its sequel at Westminster that winter. But before it ended Moray, under a strong challenge, produced the famous Casket letters which, if Mary really wrote them, proved her to be a guilty and abandoned woman. It is no task for this book to inquire whether they were or were not genuine. It is quite certain that Norfolk, unless he lied, thought them so. But the idea of the marriage had dazzled him, and his moral sense

was not strong enough to let the matter weigh against the hope of becoming King Consort of Scotland and, perhaps, in his secretly growing thoughts, something more than that.

A month or so later Norfolk received orders from Elizabeth to go to Berwick * to inspect the defences of the town —a convenient method of putting an end to a hopeless situation.

That winter and all the next spring the rumours grew and spread in London, and not without reason. John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, till lately attendant on Mary in her captivity at Tutbury, was now her Ambassador in London. He had been one of that strange party which two days after the mock trial of Bothwell for Darnley's murder had dined with him at Ainslie's Tavern in Edinburgh, and had drawn up an advice that Bothwell should marry Mary. Able, subtle, unscrupulous, he had the one virtue that he was faithful to his mistress through good repute and evil. He now became her agent in the strange dealings with Norfolk. But he was presently to prove no match for Cecil, from whom little that happened in England ever remained for long a secret. By the summer of 1569, Cecil, and Elizabeth through him, knew nearly as much as Ross and Norfolk. Elizabeth sent for Norfolk to Hampton Court, and one day in the garden, seizing him by the elbow and giving him a meaning pinch, bade him take heed on what pillow he laid his head. Norfolk protested loudly—must surely have seemed to that shrewd lady to protest too much—that he knew nothing of such ambitions, and in short had but a poor opinion of Her Majesty of Scotland,† and so forth, with the further result that before he left Hampton Court he had signed an undertaking to have no dealings of the kind. Elizabeth charged him on his allegiance ‡ to be true to his word. And perhaps

* A little more than a year later Captain Thomas Sutton, who had already in 1558–9 commanded a company at Berwick, was made Master-General of the Ordnance for Berwick and the North.

† He called the Queen of Scots "a notorious adulteress and murderess."

‡ At his trial Norfolk drew a curious distinction somewhat

that day he meant to be so, but before the summer was out Norfolk's promises had gone to make pavement elsewhere.

Meanwhile Norfolk had set foot upon another path of danger. He had joined in a plot against Cecil which had easily been discovered. He had gone back from the interview at Hampton Court to Howard House, and Cecil knew well what he was doing there. The Regent, Murray, had betrayed to Elizabeth the gist of a talk which he had with Norfolk, and the latter was even now from his privie chamber * arranging for Mary's rescue from Wingfield. Norfolk was summoned to her presence once more, and had left the court without taking leave. A royal pursuivant was sent to Howard House to fetch him. He was, he said, too ill of ague to leave his house, and so, irresolute, he stayed a-bed and let his moment of action go past. When he left it he went not to Hampton Court but to Kenninghall in Suffolk. That October Elizabeth herself took action.. She summoned him once more. With a few horsemen (" pocos caballos," reported Gueran) he rode back to Howard House. On his way thence to Windsor he was arrested, and after a short sojourn at Burnham was, on Oct. 8, 1569, transferred to the Tower.

It was this moment that the Northern Earls, Northumberland and Westmoreland, in whose plot Norfolk was deeply compromised—his youngest sister Jane was Westmoreland's wife moreover—chose for their rising. Dismayed at the arrest of Norfolk on whom they had counted, they looked for a like fate for themselves and struck the blow which was both too late and too early. The rebellion, as poorly timed as poorly carried out, with two half-hearted incapable leaders, melted before a not very formidable advance of the Queen's troops. The ignominious flight of the last relics of the rebels' host from Durham to Hexham, in December, put an end to the ill-starred enterprise. There

indicative of his type of mind. He admitted that Elizabeth had charged him, but was not sure she had charged him " on his allegiance."

* The room overlooking the Master's Court at Charterhouse.

was at Darlington a letter written on Dec. 18 by Captain Thomas Sutton,* the future Founder of Charterhouse, who served as an officer with Warwick's troops, which describes the rout of the day before. The miserable failure of his friends should have given pause to Norfolk in the Tower. But he was blind now to every vision save that of the Scottish Throne, to which at length had been added also that of the English Throne.

For all the next year, 1570, Norfolk was, as best he could manage, in communication still with Ross and the agents of the Scottish Queen. By means of a certain maid named "Nell," presently to be housemaid at Howard House, he got his letters conveyed from the Tower to Charterhouse. But early in August, 1570, the plague being severe in the Tower Hamlets, Norfolk was allowed to return to Howard House with Sir Henry Neville, who lived there as his custodian. Whatever vigilance Neville may have observed at first, it soon degenerated into the utmost laxity. Ross and Ridolfi were brought in past the doors of the chamber where Neville † lay in bed at 9 of the evening—and "Backdores" were left open for Ross to come in by. One is compelled to suspect that such carelessness was not of neglect, but perhaps of William Cecil's suggestion. He knew where to lay his hand on his witnesses whenever he wanted them, and the more evidence of treason they could furnish him with the better.

Norfolk spent his enforced residence in Charterhouse that year in two ways. Partly in decorating and improving his mansion—had he any thought that it might be needed for a Higher Fortune ?—and we find that to this period belongs the noble screen of our Great Hall, which bears the initials and date T.N. 1571. To these months, from August, 1570 to Sept., 1571, belongs also the brick-covered arcade and terrace, known to Charterhouse schoolboys as "Cloisters," which led from the Mansion to the

* Now in the Record Office.

† I conjecture that Sir Henry Neville's rooms were in the part of the House overlooking the garden or bowling-green, once the Great Cloister, now occupied by the Preacher.

CLOISTERS (THE DUKE OF NORFOLK'S ARCADE).
1570–71.

sumptuous Tennis Court. But Norfolk had more absorbing occupation than this for his leisure. Before the spring of 1571 was far advanced he was deeply involved in the plot known as the Ridolfi Plot, which had for its object the dethronement and probably the death of Elizabeth, and her replacement by Mary Stuart (when married to Norfolk). Alva was to send troops over from Holland, and their landing was to be the signal of the rising of some 40,000 men at Norfolk's bidding. The details of the plot were in the hands of Ross and Ridolfi. The latter was a Florentine Banker, settled in London, who acted as agent to Pope Pius V, and to Alva and Philip II. He was in his own right a Senator of Florence. He had the taste for intrigue which was almost a national characteristic, but he had no other qualification, save lack of scruple, for his task. A "quarrelous and bitter man," says William Barker, Norfolk's secretary, in his confession, one who was subject to sudden furious outbursts. A man, moreover, who could not hold his tongue. Once, indeed, after the most dangerous of all his interviews with Norfolk. in the short walk from the long gallery (south wing of Master's House) to the Porter's Lodge, he had given everything away to Barker. Alva, at his first interview with him, believed him to be an English spy, since no one would entrust a conspiracy to such a fool.

It was Queen Elizabeth's good fortune to have in William Cecil a man who was more than a match for ninety-nine out of every hundred conspirators who have ever tried to shake a throne. It was even more her good fortune that, of the conspirators who tried to shake her throne, ninety-nine out of every hundred were inferior in qualification to most men who undertake such tasks.

Here was Ridolfi, a hot-tempered, blatant fool. Ross, a man of high ability, but outwitting himself by inventing clever lies while Cecil had the truth in his pocket. Norfolk, with little or nothing of the stuff in him of which good conspirators are made. He was too good, carrying always some lingering scruple for effective treason—not good enough to cast the treason away. He had, moreover, an unbounded

belief in his own fortune, and, worse still for him, a greater belief in his own popularity as making ultimate catastrophe impossible. A strange conspirator this who leaves a ruinous letter "under the matte" of his study for a whole year, forgetting it was there because he had "given orders that it should be burned." And these three men, with a plot so desperate on hand, had accomplices great and small, enough to wreck any scheme that this talkative world has ever had taste of.

First of all there were privy to it of the great ones of earth, in Scotland, Holland, Rome, and Spain, Mary, Alva, Pope Pius V, Philip II, and all the ears and tongues that gathered around them, together with some scores of English malcontents—Ridolfi put it down at two score, of whom Norfolk stood as 40 in the cipher. And there were the Ambassadors of Spain and France with some of their servants, and at least half a dozen of the Duke's own retainers at Charterhouse, let alone the other servants of the place, all of whom probably could have told a tale had it been really needed.

And with this mixed crew of Emperors and Popes and Governors and Nobles and Secretaries and agents, and "raskall fellows," as the Commissioner Wylson called them, Norfolk dreamed that he could carry out a plot which needed secrecy and swiftness, and action without talk.

CHAPTER XIV

HOWARD HOUSE AND THE RIDOLFI PLOT

At this point I must say a few words about the lesser actors in the great tragedy—men who lived inside Charterhouse at the moment and whose confessions, obtained in the Tower, are to those who know the buildings of Charterhouse, full of a picturesque reality which enable us to follow the very footsteps of the men who made the history of England for a year or two, as they walked from court to court and room to room.

Robert Higford was a confidential secretary to Norfolk. We know nothing of his earlier life, nor much about him save that which the Confessions tell us. After his master's death he was also put upon his trial and condemned to death. I am unable to find that the execution was carried out.

William Barker was a second secretary. He seems to have been the type of the impecunious, travelled "pedant" (in the old sense of his day). He was educated at Cambridge. In a letter which he wrote for mercy to Queen Elizabeth he speaks of having received benefits from her at Cambridge, which looks like Emmanuel College. He travelled in Italy, and had met and associated at Siéna with Sir Thomas Hoby, the translator of *Il Cortigiano*. He was himself a versifier, and in an age when most educated men could do something decent in that sort, he produced, when at Charterhouse, some villainous stuff which the wily Ross had asked him for on behalf of his mistress, and which Mary, with no less wiliness, in a letter to Barker, thanked him for, declaring that she liked it well. Barker,

in his confession, with some pride quoted the only stanza he could remember. We shall, perhaps, require no more—

> " Whan thow hast felt what Fortune ys
> And fownd her firme to few,
> Thy Trade in Truth and Fayth parformyd
> Shall clere all clowdy skew."

" Some more verses ther were," adds the poet, " which I do not remember. He [Ross] at his being with the Quene of Scotts shewid her the Rime, and told her more of me; wherefore she wrote a Letter of Thanks to me and the Letter maketh Mention of Mr. Banester and Cantrell."

If this poor vain fellow had done no more than write this stuff it had been well, but it is clear that Norfolk, with his usual recklessness, had made him privy to much of the most dangerous import while he trusted him but little. " I would sooner," said the Duke at his trial, " have trusted one Banastre than fifteen Barkers." Of his fate we have no record. No man's testimony did so much, perhaps, to bring Norfolk to the scaffold.

The Lawrence Banastre or Banester, of whom the Duke spoke, was a man of apparently a higher type. A Justice of the Peace for his county (possibly Shropshire), and so far as can be seen, though by no means without knowledge that his master was plotting, yet unacquainted with the details of his plot. Indeed, he claimed to know so little that he was put upon the rack, which Higford and Barker escaped, but with no better result. We hear of him long after Norfolk's death, through a lease, as living in a house in the square adjacent to Charterhouse, or even forming a part of it.

Of the other servitors we hear of a Scotsman, John Syncleer, *alias* Gardner, he being the gardener of Howard House. Taken to the Tower and questioned, he produced a tale which the Commissioners dismissed in their report as " alehowse bablyng such as is common with such raskalls," and after a season in Cold Harbour they sent him back to his vegetables. He had been ten years in the Duke's service, and seventeen years later, at the attainder of Philip

Earl of Arundel, he was still caretaker of the House and Tennis Court * at Howard House, and a lease of the year 1580 made him tenant of a narrow strip of soil on the west side of Charterhouse Square, where he set up a bowling alley to the annoyance of the fashionable inhabitants of the square, by reason of the "evill disposed" persons who resorted thither. On one occasion Mr. Syncleer's patrons took the opportunity of the owner's absence to loot the house of Sir Christopher Wray, the Lord Chief Justice, who lived in the square close to the obnoxious bowling alley.

Of Lyggons, "the Duke's man" who often brought in Ross, we find nothing in shape of a confession. Nor from Chaplain Sewell, who had bribed Sir Henry Neville's footman, Richard, to carry letters for Norfolk; nor yet of William Cantrell, mentioned in Queen Mary's letter to Barker; nor yet of Sharpe, "My Lord's Grome"; nor of Symminges, "the Yoman of the Cellar"; nor even of poor Nell the faithful. The treason talked in the Servants' Hall was classed, doubtless, with the "aylehowse bablyng" of the gardener. Sir Nicholas Lestrange, Norfolk's Chamberlain, was completely absolved.

I shall now allow the Confessions of Norfolk and Ross, of Banastre, Barker, and Higford, with the letters of Ridolfi, of Alva, and of Mary Stuart to tell, in the main, their own story so far as it concerns Howard House.

Ross, in his Confessions in the Tower, gave a full description of many visits to Howard House. He tells, too, of coming to dine with Lawrence Banastre at his Chamber in the Duke's House. He tells of the perpetual messages which passed between Norfolk and Mary, and, above all, of an episode in the Long Gallery, so picturesque that I quote it in full :—

"The sayd examinate [Ross] sayeth that the Tuesday before the Duke went to Kenninghale, after Supper abowte

* The Tennis Court became, after 1611, under transformation the house used for Gownboys, from which a portion cut off in the early nineteenth century became the Head Master's boarding house, afterwards "Saunderites."

seven of the clock Lyggons mett hym at the grett Gate of Haward Howse by Apoyntemente and conducted him by the Back-Court of the Howse, and brought hym into the Gallerye next to the Churcheyard att which Tyme the Duke was in his Bedde-Chamber, as Lyggons sayed, with the Lord Lumley, and soo tarrynge a while till the Lord Lumley was gone the Duke came into the sayd Gallery * to this examinate. The cause of this Examinate's comynge was for that Robynson had brought the Duke a Token from the Quene of Scotts which as he remembreth was a Rynge and delyvered the same without any Letter before this Examinate knewe thereof; before which Tyme Bortycke [Borthwick one of Mary Stuart's Gentlemen] brought a Cushyn wrought with the Quene's own Armes and a Devyse upon it, with this sentence VIRESCIT VULNERE VIRTUS and a Hand with a Knyfe Cutting down the Vines as they use in the Sprynge Tyme; al which Work was made by the Scottish Quene's own Hand."

The Attorney-General made capital of this "Cushyn" at the trial:—

"You received," he said, "in Charterhouse Letters, Messages, and Tokens from the Scottish Quene. You received from her a Brooch [this curious error passed unnoticed] with a hand cutting down a Vine and this Posie 'Virescit Vulnere Virtus.' But my Lord do Green Vines grow where they be cut? And a green Vine it was."

Banastre [Sept. 30, 1571] spoke to two rings set with diamonds, one valued at 20*l.* the other at [blank] which Norfolk sent to the Queen of Scots. He it was too who told how, by Norfolk's order, he had left open "the dore of his logyng which hath a Bakdore in the Duke's House," so that the Bishop of Ross might pass through without his having to see him.

He told, moreover—and here again we have one of those picturesque touches which make the story live again for us—how, when Norfolk came from the Tower, he, Banastre, handed him "Seven Handkerchefs a par

* This is the Gallery which still exists; though now divided into chambers partly in the Master's Lodge and partly in the Registrar's House.

WASHHOUSE COURT. LAY BROTHERS' QUARTERS.

of writing tables and a little tablett of gold whereon was sett Queen Mary's portrat." What became of these pretty love tokens ?

William Barker's evidence was far more damaging. He told (Oct. 10, 1571) how he had twice admitted Ridolfi to interviews in the Long Gallery—Norfolk stoutly asserted there had been but one. The first time, he says, was about eight of the clock one evening in Lent last, when he "did bringe Ridolphi Secretlye to the Duke where Ridolphi did talke with the Duke in his Gallarye half an hower and more." It was on this occasion that the short walk from Gallery to Porter's Gate sufficed to create one more witness to the Treason. Barker is precise in his description :—

"The first Tyme I brought him up on the Back Side by the long Workhouse at the furder end of the Lavendry Cort. So up a new Payer of Stayers that goeth up to the old wardrobe and so thoroughe the Chamber where my Lady Lestrange [wife of Norfolk's Chamberlain] used to dine and suppe. The second Tyme I brought him up at the Stayers of the entry that goeth to Sir Henry Neville's Chamber and down agayne that way."

We can identify the route tolerably well. He was taken in at the door of the Slype, now the Manciples' passage which adjoins the long workhouse (now divided up into smaller workshops) in the west wing of Washhouse Court. He was led, it must seem, across the Master's Court to the corner where a door in the north wing opened on the Great Staircase, newly built. For there is no other staircase to which the term "payer of stayers," used literally in that day, could apply. The old wardrobe was, perhaps, a cloak room at or near the lobby off the Great Staircase to the right, which gives access to the upper rooms of the Preacher's House and of the Master's Lodge. It was through the latter (the east wing) that Ridolfi must have been led to meet the Duke, who came from his Bed Chamber (to-day the Registrar's Drawing-room) into the Long Gallery in the south wing. We are

told in another Confession how Barker withdrew into a window while Ridolfi talked with the Duke.

With regard to the second interview, for which Barker says he let Ridolfi in by the Stayers of the entry to Sir Henry Neville's Chamber, I am inclined to believe that, as I have already said, Sir Henry Neville had his quarters in what is now the Preacher's House, and that the very interesting Staircase which leads down to what was formerly the Garden or Bowling-green of Howard House (once the Great Cloister) was that which is here mentioned by Barker.

Norfolk's own confession corroborates the main fact of one interview with Ridolfi, while it denies the second. Whether the result came from one interview or two, its nature is undoubted. Norfolk entered freely into the plan by which he was to raise a force of men in the Eastern Counties to co-operate with a landing of 10,000 of Alva's troops at Harwich. The Queen of Scots was to take the place of Elizabeth on the English throne.

Norfolk seems to have held the fatuous idea that so long as he did not actually sign any of these compromising documents he was safe, no matter what amount of approval he might have bestowed upon them by word of mouth. That night, however, Ridolfi went away and forthwith wrote out three similar reports * of the Duke's complete assent to the scheme, for Alva, Philip, and Pius V, and in a day or two had started for the Netherlands, where he handed Alva his report.

As we have said, Alva thought him a babbler and said so, but he none the less approved the plan and grasped the detail to its full value. To Philip he wrote quite clearly :—

"Your Majesty understands. The Queen being dead—naturally or otherwise—dead or else a prisoner, there will be an opportunity which we must not allow to escape. The first step must not be taken by us . . . but we may tell the Duke that those Conditions being first fulfilled he shall have what he wants."

* Two of these letters exist: one in Italian in the Vatican, the other in Spanish, lately at Simancas, but now removed to the National Archives of Madrid.

THE GREAT STAIRCASE OF HOWARD HOUSE, (1565–1570.)

Apparently anxious to justify Alva's opinion of him as a fool, Ridolfi at once wrote in cipher three similar letters to Ross, Norfolk, and Lumley, enclosing all three in one packet to Ross with the key of the cipher enclosed. Then he set forth with his other copy of the report for Pius V, and reaching Rome in May, passed thence in June to Madrid, where Philip at once summoned a Cabinet Council which cheerfully decided on the murder of Elizabeth, and appointed Chapin Vitelli, at his own request, to do the deed.

Meanwhile Ridolfi's packet to Ross had gone on its way by the hand of Charles Bailly, the unhappy creature whose piteous lament is still to be seen carved on the walls of the Tower. He fell into the hands of Cecil's spies. His precious packet was opened by Lord Cobham, who, won over by his brother, sent merely the bag with seditious books in it to Cecil and passed the cipher letters on to Ross. The latter substituted other letters in the same cipher of no very dangerous hue, and passed them on. But Bailly under the rack, and by means of a clever trick, was presently induced to tell the secret of the true contents of the letter. Once more Cecil, that "fox of infinite cunning" as Guerau called him, knew more than any single conspirator of them all, and Norfolk was in his net.

But the Ridolfi business was not all. The French Ambassador and the Spanish, in London, while seeking in their master's interest to undermine each other, sought also to undermine Elizabeth.

The French Ambassador, de La Mothe Fénelon, lived in Charterhouse Square. One day he received from Mary's supporters in France a sum of 300 French gold crowns and 300 English angels. He sent them through to Norfolk in Charterhouse. His servant delivered the bag to Barker "in the chapel" (an interesting fact which shows that the chapel, if ever used as a Banquet Hall,* had been so only for a time), and the latter carried them through to Higford. Norfolk, with his usual neglect of detail, bade him despatch the bag to his agent (Banastre), then in

* See Maurice Chauncy's account.

Shropshire, for conveyance to Lord Herries, on behalf of Mary, and enclosed letters therewith in cipher. With incredible carelessness Higford entrusted the bag to a merchant called Brown, travelling to Shrewsbury, saying that it was fifty pounds in silver for the payment of his Lord's tenants. Brown, having some knowledge of the weight of coins, thought it heavy—opened it, found the letters, and returned to Cecil, who at once summoned Robert Higford to decipher the letters. Higford prevaricated awhile, then, under fear of the rack, declared that the alphabet to the cipher "was left under the matte hard by the wyndowes syde in the entrye towards my Lord's Bed Chamber wheare the Mappe of England doth hang whereof I made my Lord pryvie." * Meanwhile, from memory, he deciphered the letters and once more Norfolk's guilt was proved.

But when the messengers in hot haste reached Charterhouse and made search beneath the "matte," the alphabet had been "gotten away." But they found instead a letter to Norfolk from Queen Mary—which Norfolk declared had lain there near upon a year. "I bid," said Norfolk at his trial, "that letter should be burned." "God would not have it so," was the Attorney-General's reply.

Norfolk, not knowing what had happened, repeated his tale of the fifty pounds for his tenants to the Commissioners, Sir Thomas Smith and Doctor Wilson, who came to Charterhouse to examine him. Cecil, on learning this, at once went to Elizabeth, who ordered Norfolk to the Tower.

Sir Ralph Sadler, who carried out the order, wrote on Sept. 7, 1571, to Elizabeth of his action on the previous day, telling how he came to the Duke about three of the afternoon and

"so having prepared a Fotecloth Nag for him, I Sir Rauf Sadler, on the one side and Sir Thomas Smith on the other

* We can identify this spot in the Duke's privie chamber or study to within a few feet. The room, sadly shorn of all traces of antiquity, is still in existence on the first floor at the north end of the west wing of the Master's Court. The text of the letter from Queen Mary will be found in Wright's *History of Scotland*. Probably the original exists, but I am unable to trace it.

side and I Doctor Wilson coming immediately after with only our servants and friends accompanied he was betwixt four and five of the Clock quietly brought into the Tower without eny Truble save a Nomber of idle raskall People, Women, Men, Boyes and Girles runnyng about him, as the Manner is, gasyng at him."

And so in this sorry procession Thomas Howard passed out of the Gatehouse of Howard House for the last time.

The missing key to the cipher was yet to find. Norfolk himself gave the clue. Sir Thomas Smyth writes thus to Burghley on Sept. 21, 1751 :—

" With talking with the Duke heretofor and charging him that he had the Cifer which we missed and which should lie under the Matte, he cast out a word and said that Higforth's memory might faile; yt had ben, and might lie bewixte tiles. We called Higforth before us. At the first he said that was before the House was full buylded, now it was ceeled there, and toke it surely to be under the Matte. Yet after a night he remembered himself but he could not so demonstrate it that any man might fyend it. If he went by hymself he doubted not to fyend it if it were there. Whereupon I, Dr Wilson, went this day with hym and one of the Tower his keper to Haward House and founde it indede betwixt two tiles in the Roof so hid as it had not bene possible to have founde it otherwise than by unrypping all the Tiles except one had been well acquainte with the Place."

The rest is soon told. On Jan. 16, Westminster Hall was prepared with all the pomp and splendour which was fit to usher in the trial of the premier Peer of England. Other satisfaction than that Norfolk could have hardly found in the manner of his trial. Utterly repugnant in its methods to our later views of justice, it was yet in its day neither better nor worse than that which was measured out to men on trial of life and death. Norfolk applied to be heard by counsel. The point of law was referred to the Chief Justice Sir James Dyer (Norfolk's neighbour in Charterhouse Square). Dyer decided that by the law

of England a prisoner accused of treason could not be heard by counsel. What purports to be a verbal record of the trial is extant.* The Attorney of the Wards made rhetorical statements to the peers rather than examined, and browbeat the prisoner in the manner of that day. Only one witness was produced in court. The Confessions of Archbishop Ross, Bailly, Higford, Banastre, and Barber were read in court, but no cross-examination—the merest amateur can see where such was needed—was possible. It is true, as we know now, that Cecil had evidence enough behind the scenes to have convicted ten times over. And doubtless the consciousness of this paralysed the Duke's defence. The trial lasted all day, and as the Hall darkened the Lords gave in their verdict of guilty.

Four weeks or so later the scaffold was built one day on Tower Hill ready for its work next morning. But Elizabeth withdrew the warrant which she had signed, and next day, Feb. 11, the crowd who had gathered to see Norfolk die, had to be content with two victims of small interest. All that spring Cecil brought pressure to bear in vain, but at last a joint petition of Lords and Commons forced the reluctant Queen once more to sign the death warrant. In Burghley's diary, under June 2, occurs this entry: "The Duke of Norfolk suffred." On the scaffold he declared to the people that he had always been a Protestant since he had known what religion meant. It was a point on which men might well have doubted. And so passed out of sight the fourth Duke of Norfolk, and a notable chapter in the History of Charterhouse, which for the time had become the History of England itself, was closed.

* *The Trial of the Duke of Norfolk.* Joseph Brown, 1709.

† The Duke was buried, with more honour than was often given to the victims of the axe, in St. Peter's Chapel of the Tower, where his two cousins, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard, already lay. In that same chapel no less than three owners of Charterhouse found rest, John Dudley Earl of Northumberland, Thomas Howard, and his son Philip Earl of Arundel.

CHAPTER XV

HOWARD HOUSE UNDER PHILIP EARL OF ARUNDEL

PHILIP HOWARD was the eldest son of Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk by his first wife, the Lady Mary Fitzalan, daughter of Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel. He was born at Arundel House,* his grandfather's Mansion in the Strand, on June 28, 1557, and his mother, the last of the Fitzalans, dying less than two months after his birth, he seems to have remained in Arundel House, and to have been there brought up, as presently were his stepbrothers, Thomas and William (the "Belted Will" of Sir Walter Scott). Their country home was probably Kenninghall. Philip II stood godfather to Philip Howard, for whom presently a tutor was found in one Martin Gregory of St. John's Oxford, a man of strong Romanist tendencies, who later crossed over to Douai and died there.

When Philip was a few months under twelve he was betrothed to Anne Dacre, also twelve years old, who was Norfolk's ward, the daughter of his third wife Elizabeth Lady Dacre. The pair were formally married—the MS.† calls it "married a second time"—two years later when each was fourteen. This match at first was nothing happier than most of such miserable arrangements common in that day. Philip Howard was about fifteen years old

* Arundel House, of which all trace has disappeared, stood over several acres of ground slightly to the west of a line drawn from St. Clement Danes (where Mary Fitzalan was buried) to the river. The name is preserved in Arundel Street.

† A MS. at Arundel, which was published by the thirteenth Duke of Norfolk, is my authority for this and several other statements concerning the life of Philip Howard. It is thought to have been written by the Confessor of Anne (Dacre), Philip's wife.

at his father's execution, and his uncle, Lord William Howard, took charge of him and of his stepbrothers. He was sent to Cambridge, to St. John's, where, not being a youth of strong character, he is said by his biographer to have been idle and dissipated. From Cambridge, therefore, he brought back little that was useful, unless the degree of M.A. given " without the usual exercises " can be so counted, and once more in London he at once began to live the life of the courtier about town. He had inherited from his father, Norfolk, and his grandfather, Surrey, a full share of their love of magnificence. The estates of Norfolk had descended to him by an entail, and though condemnation for treason cancelled all entail and the estates were forfeit to the Crown, Elizabeth seems to have waived that claim, though she did not allow him to assume the title of the Duke of Norfolk. He was, for the present, merely Earl of Surrey by courtesy. We find him, however, in the year 1578, at the age of twenty-one, entertaining the Queen at Kenninghall in Norfolk, and a little later, Elizabeth being on a progress in those parts, he entertained her at his Palace at Norwich, keeping open house to all the nobles and gentlefolk of the county in fashion so sumptuous that it is said to have left him seriously in debt.

All this time he was neglecting his young wife Anne, who lived alone in the country while he kept court at Arundel House. The Arundel MS. tells us that when she came to town she had lodgings in Charterhouse. But in 1580, the Earl of Arundel died and Philip Howard succeeded to his title and to his estates. He was, in 1581, " restored in blood," but still without Norfolk's titles, and at the same time he and his wife came together and lived at Arundel House. She was a woman of strong character and religious feeling, and her influence with her husband became great. In 1582 she joined the Roman Church, making no secret of it. Elizabeth in wrath sent her down to the charge of Sir Thomas Shirley at Wiston in Sussex for a year. She was kindly treated, but strictly guarded, and there she gave birth to her only daughter. Meanwhile,

strange rumours were flying about London with reference to Philip Howard. In 1583, Elizabeth announced her intention of visiting him at Arundel House,* it is easy to guess why. The self-invited guest liked well of her entertainment, we are told, but perhaps saw there things which confirmed her suspicions. A month or so later Arundel and his stepbrother, William Howard, had orders to consider themselves prisoners in Arundel House. This confinement lasted, Arundel says in a letter to the Queen, for fifteen weeks, during which he and his officials were several times severely questioned. In 1584, Arundel was secretly received into the Roman Church by Father William Weston, but remained about the person of Elizabeth until in April, 1585, he resolved to fly the country, and had actually sailed on a vessel from Littlehampton when he was overtaken and arrested. Brought before the Star Chamber he was charged with that offence, with communicating with Mary Stuart, and with seeking to assume the Norfolk title. No trial followed, but he was committed to the Tower and fined £10,000. Once only did he leave it in all the rest of his life. In 1588, when the Spanish Armada was coming up the Channel, he and one or two others in the Tower met in his prison in the Beauchamp Tower and there heard mass, which was followed by twenty-four hours of intercession. William Bennett, the priest who had celebrated, under fear of torture confessed that the mass of the Holy Spirit and the prayers which followed had been for the success of the Spainards. Arundel wholly denied this, explaining that there was a rumour in London that all Romanists were to be massacred. The mass, he said, was for his own safety and for that of his fellows. Bennett, in a letter to Arundel full of remorseful apology, declared that he had merely confessed whatever he thought would please best; but at the later trial he was produced and did not withdraw his confession. On April 14, 1589, Arundel, splendidly attired, and bearing

* Mr. Taylor makes this a visit to Charterhouse. The Arundel MS. is, however, quite clear on the point. And there is no evidence that Arundel himself ever lived in Charterhouse.

himself proudly to the annoyance of his judges, it is said, appeared in Westminster Hall under an act of attainder and was condemned to death—the fourth in direct line from and including the third Duke of Norfolk in Henry VIII's reign who had lain under such sentence, his father and grandfather having actually suffered death.* He was taken back to his prison in the Beauchamp Tower, but was never led forth to Tower Hill. His imprisonment, however, was made a very sad one. Elizabeth hated him. Perhaps she remembered how his grandfather Arundel had once told her to her face that if she tried to govern England with her caprices the nobility would have to interfere. Perhaps the letter which Philip Howard himself had written on the eve of his flight from Littlehampton rankled in her mind. He had told her, amongst many other things, with no small indiscretion, for he could certainly not have been aware of the truth, that his father had died innocent of all disloyal mind, and that even his worst enemies now admitted it. But whatever the cause, he was treated with harshness in the Tower. His only son was born in 1586, soon after his committal, but he was allowed to see neither wife nor child. And when in 1595 death drew near and he asked to say farewell to wife and children, even at that moment it was denied him unless he would consent to go to church. As he lay dying he uttered a dignified and pathetic appeal to the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Michel Blount: "You must think, Mr. Lieutenant, that when a prisoner comes hither to this Tower that he bringeth sorrow with him. On them do not add affliction to affliction." He died at the age of thirty-seven, and was buried near his unhappy kinsfolk and predecessors in misfortune in the Chapel of St. Peter's of the Tower, but in 1624 was moved thence to the Chancel of the Parish Church of Arundel.

The tenure by which he had held Howard House was, as I have said, evidently one of permission, the Queen

* Three owners of Charterhouse as a mansion, Northumberland, Norfolk, Arundel, were sentenced to death.

not insisting on the forfeiture of the estates, which descended to him by entail. I can, however, find no evidence that he ever himself used it as his Town House. During the whole of his tenure, which lasted from 1572 to his own attainder, 1589, we learn from the report of the jury appointed to return a valuation of Charterhouse on its forfeiture to the Crown, that John Sincleere, the shrewd Scotch gardener of Howard House, whose feigned stupidity had once served him so well in the Tower, was caretaker of the mansion. The deed by which he was appointed dates from the time of Norfolk and throws an interesting side light on a critical moment of the Duke's affairs. It is dated August 12, 1569.* That was a week or two only before Norfolk's last interview with Elizabeth, and six weeks before his fatal flight from the Court. It is easy to see that in taking the strange step of appointing a legalised custodian of Howard House he did so under a strong sense of the events which were impending, and which might—as indeed they did—make him a stranger to Howard House for many a long day. The deed appointing Sincleere as custodian could not, of course, be thought to have any effect at all in staving off the forfeiture as has been suggested.

Philip Howard seems to have used Arundel House, as we have said, in the life of his grandfather as his place of resort in London. And Charterhouse was let from 1573 for some years onwards to the Portuguese Ambassador. It comes before us from a most picturesque episode in 1576, which once more gives local details of the Master's Lodge. The Portuguese Ambassador was in the habit of having mass celebrated there, and it came to be known that Englishmen resorted to it. One Sunday at 11 o'clock the Recorder of London with Sheriff Kimpton and Sheriff Barnes appeared with a handful of followers before the Porter's Lodge. The Porter, "being a Portugal, a testy little wretch," says the Recorder, showed fight and shut the Recorder's leg, to his great pain, in the Great Gates,

* The actual deed is not extant so far as I know. But it is quoted as bearing date August 12, 1569.

whence it was rescued by Mr. Sheriff Kimpton. The party forced its way in and, crossing the little triangular Entrance Court, went into the entrance "Hal," * all doors being open, and up the stairs. At the stair-head there was a Long Gallery (now divided off into separate rooms in the Master's and Registrar's Houses) that, in length, stood east and west. In the same Gallery all the mass-hearers were standing, for the priest was at the gospel, and the altar candles were lighted, as the old manner was. The presence of the intruders soon became known, and thereupon ensued a scene so wild that the Spanish Ambassador who was present (this probably means Antonio de Guarras, presently to be mentioned) afterwards made furious protest to the Queen upon the breach of an Ambassador's privilege. The Queen, says Strype, "was so complaisant" as to order the Recorder to be committed.

The Portuguese Ambassador, called the Seigneur Giraldo or Giraldi, was still not satisfied. A special messenger with apologies was sent down to him on board his ship, he, as it happened, being on the eve of a visit to his home. And meanwhile the Privy Council ordered an inquiry to which the Recorder should furnish a full account. It is from his very minute report that the following description is framed. The Recorder having entered the Long Gallery with his party, the mass-hearers all turn round. He summons all Englishmen to come out. All the strangers (foreigners) make a rush at him, some with rapiers drawn, some with daggers. Two bailiff's "errants" of Middlesex draw their swords, which at Mr. Recorder's order are at once sheathed. There is a general melée, "and then Mr. Sheriff Kimpton with all the Mass-hearers with Seigneur Giraldie's Wife and her Maids were all in a Heap, forty persons at once speaking in several languages."

* This Hal must have been a lobby, probably on the west of the portal where the Registrar's office now is, since the stair by which they ascended (an outside stair with, doubtless, entrance from both floors internally, of which a fragment remains) opened on to the end of the Long Gallery. There was another outside staircase opening nearer the middle. The Long Gallery has already figured in the visits of Ross and Ridolfi.

GREAT HALL, FROM MASTER'S COURT.

From this polyglot mass the gallant Recorder extricates the Ambassador's wife, and kissing his hand, in what, presumably, he took to be the Spanish manner, he led her by the hand out of the press to her chamber door, and there makes "a most humble Cursey unto her." And then performing the same gallant service to the gentlewomen, he returns to the Long Gallery and with his colleagues begins to question, first allowing the men of the household to depart, which they do, using such "lewd and contumelious words" that Mr. Recorder is glad his men do not understand them.

The strangers not of the household are less amenable still, till Mr. Recorder says, "Very well, then, they must all go to prison." Whereon, cap in hand, they become submissive and are dismissed, the Englishmen alone being arrested. At this moment a mild practical joke is played on the energetic Mr. Kimpton. The "Mass sayer" had stood quietly at the north end of the altar during all this scene. The altar must have been at the east end of the gallery where the landing of the staircase (a modern insertion) now is. Some one whispers to Kimpton that if the door at the side (this can only be the door opening into the present "small drawing-room") be opened he will find a number of "mass mongers" inside. The priest smilingly produces the keys; the door is opened; the eager sheriff enters, to find an empty room.

Defeated on this side issue, but victorious at all the other points, the party think it time to go. But first they are led up to see "how trim the altar is," by Don Antonio de Guarras, who had been the most boisterous of their opponents. This de Guarras was a notable man, the envoy to London of the Duke of Alva—probably he is "the Spanish Ambassador" described in the Recorder's report. He was a noted intriguer, as his surviving letters to Alva and Philip show, and he took little from his object lesson this day in Burghley's methods of dealing with Ambassadors seeing that only a year later he found himself in the Tower, having been found writing letters of conspiracy to Mary Stuart. To-day, however, in spite of the provocation

received, his Spanish courtesy is with him and he conducts the Recorder and Sheriffs across the Entrance Court to the Porter's Lodge, where a well-meant invitation from the Recorder to come and have some dinner is declined, and so ends this extraordinary episode so typical of its day and hour, in England, and so full of local interest in Charterhouse.

I am unable to say how many years Charterhouse continued to be the residence of the Portuguese Ambassador. The fact stated by the Arundel MS. that the Countess of Arundel about this time "had lodgings there" and occasionally used them when she came to town (her husband being at Arundel House) does not preclude the possibility, in so large a mansion, of the Portuguese Ambassador occupying the main portion. She doubtless ceased to keep her lodging at Charterhouse upon her reunion with Arundel after 1570, when Arundel House became their home, and we have no records from that time to Arundel's attainder, 1589, to tell us what use the place was put to, beyond, of course, the record of Sincleere's custody which covers the whole period. But in the autumn, 1589, a commission or jury was appointed to survey and report on Howard House, and also to estimate repairs. These two documents resulting in 1590 from this inquiry are full of incidental information, and are of great help in localising certain features which have since disappeared, and of still more help in realising the condition at that moment, of much that still remains. The survey and estimate for repairs leaves the strong impression of a Great House which for many years has had little repair and has suffered from the absence of an owner's eye. It is the kind of result which one expects from a house which has been let, or has been in charge of a caretaker who has no authority to incur great expenses in repair. Thus we read that the Tarras (Terrace) which leads, we must remember, out of the chief chambers of the mansion to the Duke's Tennis Court, and which we know from an inscription on it on the outside of the West Wall was built in 157? (1570–1571

alone possible) was now in 1590, twenty years later, in such bad repair that the whole of the battlements along the 263 feet on each side had to be taken down and rebuilt (incidentally we learn that it is paved with Newcastle stone). And the square house at the end of Tarras adjoining the main house (the measurements given enable us to identify it with the building as we now have it) is in so bad a state that the top floor * and roof had to be removed. "The Main House on the N. side towards the Terrace to be repaired with best of stone being in decaye and plummer's work will cost 50£ and for glazing 10£. The Great Mansion House to be repaired and tiling glazing creaste and mending the lead will cost 30£. The coping of the wall in circuit to be tiled in the decayed places 10£."

All this looks like a house not kept in repair from year to year, or month to month, and it certainly seems to point to tenancies such as that of a Portuguese Ambassador —one can imagine what that might be like in that day— for a few years, and perhaps no tenant at all for as many more. It is not to be thought that the buildings could have come to the state of decay above described in so short a time on any other supposition.

And, naturally, we should not expect to find any additions or important changes in Howard House which we can attribute with any probability to Philip Earl of Arundel. It may, I think, be taken that the mansion at his death was, save for the processes of decay and wear, much the same as it was at the death of his father, Norfolk.

Whether, after the report of the jury in 1590, the Crown to whom Charterhouse now reverted, undertook the necessary repairs, cannot be ascertained. Elizabeth had no fondness for spending money on "repairs" either for men or ships, or for buildings, and it is possible that the buildings were left to further dilapidation until they came into the hands of their next noble occupant, eleven years later. It is difficult to suppose that those repairs would

* We can to-day see where this was done, the upper portion having been replaced in red brick. The supply of monastic stone material had long given out.

have been undertaken at the Crown expense and the whole then left unoccupied for so many years, as we know to have been the case.

From the attainder of Arundel in 1589 onwards to the date of his half-brother's tenancy in 1601, the rents of Charterhouse, such as Whitwell Beech * and houses and property in Charterhouse Square, were taken over by the Crown, and all leases made out in Elizabeth's name. In 1593, Edward Morris, gent. of London, was appointed custodian in place of John Shinkler (so spelt this time), who had surrendered the agreement by which (from Aug. 12, 1569) he was to hold the post for life. We are not told what, if any, compensation was made to the old Scottish gardener ; perhaps he found it in his house and his bowling green in Charterhouse Square.

In 1595, as we have seen, Philip of Arundel died in the Tower. The estates by entail should have passed to his son, Thomas Howard, a boy of some ten years old who was with his mother, the Countess Anne, at Arundel House. This time, however, the attainder had been allowed to have its full effect, sweeping away all claim established by entail or aught else.

For the present no assignment of the estate of Charterhouse was made. Nor is any deed found bearing date earlier than Oct. 29, 1601, when Elizabeth granted Charterhouse to Lord Thomas Howard, the deed ending in these words :—

" And whereas the said Duke [of Norfolk] was attainted of high treason (1572) and whereas afterwards Philip Earl of Surrey and afterwards Earl of Arundel was likewise attainted (1589) and whereas said Thomas Lord Howard Baron of Walden levied a Fine to us and our successors of all said lands (see Feet of Fines this year 1601) know ye that for the faithful services of said Thomas Lord Howard Baron of Walden We have granted him by these presents . . . the said Capital Messuage called Howard House *alias* Charterhouse, the orchard and

* Pardon Churchyard and Whitwell Beech, which, as shown in a previous chapter, were part of Manny's gift, remain part of Charterhouse Clerkenwell estate to this day.

Garden etc Pardon Church Yard and White Welbech [Whitwell Beech] To him and his heirs for ever paying us yearly 822. 0. 0 in two annual portions."

It will thus be seen that for most of the rest of Elizabeth's reign Lord Thomas Howard held Charterhouse not as freehold but as a tenant under the Crown.* The concluding sentences are also important as showing—it has been denied—that an entail was not recognised as of force in a case where attainder for treason intervened. It was not till 1601 that he received it by a grant from the Queen as a reward for good services. And this grant was renewed and confirmed by James in 1603.

It is in the last years of Arundel's life that we find Charterhouse in the occupation—clearly as a temporary tenancy of the Crown—of one of the most fascinating figures of Elizabeth's day, George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. Letters both from himself and his countess show that from 1593 to 1595 (probably both earlier and later) they had with their children lived in Howard House. Sometimes described as a "naval Don Quixote"—the comparison is only possible to a writer who mistakes both characters—he was, nevertheless, with all his faults, one of those chivalrous, erratic, dauntless beings who make all naval enterprise under Elizabeth into romance. He had commanded the *Elizabeth Bonaventura* in the Armada fights with the greatest gallantry. Then the Queen lends him the *Golden Lion* for a South Sea venture—but he took no gain of money that time. Then came his greatest voyage, his nearest approach to fortune. He had taken the *Victory* with six others, at his own expense, to the Spanish Main and captured the treasure galleon of the West Indian Fleet worth £100,000. She became a total wreck in Mount's Bay, and her treasure lies there awaiting the day when the sea shall give up her secrets; and so it was with all his enterprises. At home a courtier, gambler, man about town; at sea, a sailor, a brave gentleman, unselfish, enduring, but always unlucky.

* In fee-farm.

In 1594 he had by the accidental blowing up of their ship the *Cinco Clagas* during an engagement taken prisoner three Spanish grandees, Don Rodrigo Castiliano, Don Duarte de Sayas, and Don Juan de Sousa, two of whom he brought to Charterhouse, where they lived nearly a year in honourable captivity till their ransom should arrive. Cumberland was a great favourite of Elizabeth, whose glove set with diamonds he wore ever in his cap. So we see him in the National Portrait Gallery. Was it thus he walked these courts? Was it thus that he entertained in Howard House, Drake and Manson and Baskerville and many another of his own kidney? One may not stop to imagine pictures, but what material for them! It is to the more prosaic evidence of one of his letters that we must turn. On Sept. 1, 1594, he writes to Burghley expressing a hope that he will favour my Lord Tomas [Howard] in his suite.

Sir J. Fortescue "hath dealt with her Maie in it who after much speche (as he sayeth) concluded not unwillingly to grant what my Lord desired but in fee-farme." There can, I think, be no moral doubt that the suit was none other than a request that Howard House—confiscated to the Crown by Arundel's attainder and sentence—should be bestowed on Lord Thomas. Which, in fact, it presently was after 1595 in "fee-farme" (*i.e.* tenancy). How long Cumberland remained in Charterhouse is not known to us.

CHAPTER XVI

HOWARD HOUSE UNDER LORD THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF SUFFOLK, 1601–1611

The new tenant of Charterhouse, destined to be the last tenant of it in its mansion stage, was the second son, born in 1563, of the fourth Duke of Norfolk (*d.* 1572) by his second wife, Margaret Audley, daughter of Lord Chancellor Audley, who played his part in the trials of More and Rochester and many another whose lives were forfeit in the reign of Henry. His father, on the eve of his execution, had entrusted him to the care of his half-brother Philip, aged fifteen, and little enough able to take care even of himself. It was probably his uncle who looked after the orphan boys. Lord Thomas Howard went, like Philip, to Cambridge (St. John's), though, as being younger, at a later date. His kinsman, Lord Charles Howard of Effingham, had been made Lord High Admiral in 1585, and when men were waiting for the coming of the fleet of Spain in 1587 the young Howard, at the age of twenty-four, was with him on the quarter-deck of the flagship the *Ark Royal* (late *Ark Ralegh*), "the one odd ship for all conditions," as her commander wrote of her, and the finest sailer in the fleet. It is quite possible that Lord Thomas had already learnt the ropes in some other enterprise, since we have no knowledge of his doings after his leaving college. Effingham formed a high opinion of his young kinsman, and in the spring of 1588 gave him the command of the *Golden Lion*, of 500 tons, 250 mariners, and carrying heavy and light guns. The choice was soon justified. In

the long day's battle off Portland Bill, on July 23, he showed great gallantry. The *Lion* together with the *Triumph* (Frobisher), the *Mary Rose* (Fenton), and two others got separated from the fleet to leeward and had to fight an unequal action. They were with difficulty rescued by the *Ark* (Effingham), the galleon *Leicester* (Capt. George Fennar), the *Victory* (Drake), the *Dreadnought* (Beston), and two others. The wind luckily changing, the twelve ships seized the chance and bore down upon the Spaniards. "It may be well said," says the despatch, "that for the time there never was seen a more terrible value of great shot nor more hot fight than this was." It was indeed, as was Gravelines a few days later—though these very names are forgotten by the average Englishman,—a battle which, for its value to England, should be counted with the Nile and Trafalgar. Effingham had a month earlier written to Walsingham of Lord Thomas Howard and Lord Sheffield, "I do assure you, Sir, that these two noblemen be most gallant gentlemen and not only forward but very discreet in all their doings. I would to God I could say for Her Majesty's service that there were four such young noblemen behind to save her." Two days after the Battle of Portland, when the fleet was off Calais, on July 25,* Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Sheffield, Roger Townshend, Martin Frobisher, John Hawkins, and George Beston were called on board the *Ark* and there knighted by Effingham on the quarter-deck. Never has knighthood been better bestowed.

Lord Thomas was one of Effingham's Inner Council of War, and his signature appears with those of Drake and Hawkins, Thomas Fenner, and the others, to the decision of that Council (to be seen in the British Museum) made on board the *Ark* off Calais, to follow the Spanish fleet till they had put the Firth of Forth to the west of them. In the fight off Calais, two days after his knighthood, he did very valiantly and showed that he had fairly earned his spurs, and so once again in the crowning victory of Gravelines. A notice in the Navy reports shows that the *Golden*

* I find this in the Naval Records also given as July 26.

Lion suffered a good deal. In September she had to put into port to get her mainmast fished, and in November, the great work being over, she was overhauled and her masts pronounced to be "nothing worth," being all clamped together with iron.

Lord Thomas had marked himself as a born sailor, and three years after the Armada battles, in 1591, he was in command of the six ships which were sent to waylay the Spanish treasure fleet on its return from the Indies. It was one of those ventures national in name but equipped by the money of shareholders from Elizabeth downwards, Ralegh himself owning one entire ship. This time there were no dividends. The little squadron, waiting off Flores in the Azores, found itself almost in presence of the Spanish fleet of over fifty sail, King's ships and armed merchantmen combined. Lord Thomas weighed anchor and saved five of his ships, but Sir Richard Grenville in the *Revenge* * waited towing off his sick men from on shore, and all that night and next morning fought that fight of the one against the fifty-three which will never be forgotten so long as England takes any pride in her history. Lord Thomas has been at times reproached for not staying behind to share Grenville's fate. But it is hardly open to dispute that in saving his little squadron from an inevitable disaster he did his duty to his country.

That Elizabeth and Burlegh read it so is clear from the fact that in 1596 he was set to command one of the three squadrons, the others being under Essex and Ralegh, which carried out the siege of Cadiz and the destruction of the Spanish fleet there. But the feat of all others which marks best his place amongst English seamen is, perhaps, the least known and least often recorded. In 1597 † he was again in command of one of three squadrons, his colleagues being as before, Essex and Ralegh, who at a moment of great apparent peril, were sent to assault

* This is, of course, the occasion of Tennyson's well-known ballad.

† In the same year he was created Baron Howard de Walden, and from him descend the recent holders of that title.

Ferrol and, if possible, once more to destroy the Spanish fleet in port there. A great storm overtook them. Essex, brave, but no seaman—a soldier, and not a great one—succeeded in getting back to Falmouth. Ralegh, never so practical a seaman as Howard, though gifted with more imagination, also turned back. But Howard ran his small squadron through to Ferrol in teeth of the gale. It was a fine act of seamanship, and though he had to be content with a challenge to the Adelantado to come out with all his fleet and fight his little squadron—a challenge which was gracefully declined—he alone had done what he was sent for. But it was his last notable feat. He was made Admiral of the Fleet in 1599 when England was waiting for the " Invisible Armada " which never came—and then no more. In Feb., 1601, when Londoners saw the strange sight of St. Clement Danes tower armed with cannon to command Essex House, where Essex lay in a state of siege, Lord Thomas acted as Marshal to the besieging army with Howard of Effingham in command—a sorry service for these men of the Armada. He was in the early days of James, a privy councillor, made Earl of Suffolk in July, 1603, and high in Court favour, which, however, he was destined to outlive, though to his sagacity the interpretation of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 had been mainly due. To say truth, however, he showed better on sea than on land, as an Admiral rather than as a Statesman, and above all on his own quarter-deck rather than on the floor of his own house. His wife, Mary Dacre, sister of the Countess of Arundel (for Norfolk had married his three sons to his three step-daughters and wards) was a masterful and not too scrupulous a woman. She freely increased her pin money, not with Suffolk's consent, by supplying information to Spain, and perhaps by other means. In 1618 Suffolk was accused of grave doings at the Treasury, and his wife of taking money from those who had suits to present. The Star Chamber fined him £30,000, though the evidence was not conclusive. The fine was presently reduced to £7000, representing probably the amount of the Countess' guilt, and Suffolk was restored to office. He

lived to be avenged on Bacon when he took part in the latter's trial in 1621, and so with some return to his ancient honours, he spent his last years at Audley End and died there in 1626, two years after Howard of Effingham, a hale old man of over eighty, had gone to his haven.

To turn to the direct connection of Lord Thomas Howard with Charterhouse. I have tried to show, in an earlier chapter, that we have no deed granting Howard House to him before 1601; and we have no reason to say that he lived in the mansion before that date.

Elizabeth, who, though she was thought to bear a grudge against the Howards, had a liking for him as one of her best admirals and called him "my good Thomas," came to visit him at Charterhouse (it was her fourth visit in all) in January of 1603. There is something pathetic in the picture which rises to the mind of the haggard old woman —broken hearted, too, if tradition tells true, though there were men found to doubt if there was a heart to break— sitting among her courtiers there where she had sat forty-five years before in the first few days of her Queendom. Two months later she was dead, and the son of the woman who had been her lifelong enemy was sitting in that same hall among the selfsame courtiers. James I used it, as she had done, as his first resting-place on his coming to London for four days, from May 7–11. Lord Thomas had already a few days earlier been made his Chamberlain. We learn from two accounts how over seventy of the city fathers, all in velvet gowns and gold chains, met him and helped to escort him; how, in order to avoid the dust—it had been mud at Elizabeth's entry—the Royal party who came in from Islington by Wood's Close, now Northampton Street, left the King's highway and rode across the fields, a thing that may well have troubled his Majesty, who sat no better on a horse than he did upon a throne, and entered Charterhouse at the backside, through a vast crowd who seem to have been very ill-behaved, though boisterously loyal. The fare was sumptuous, and James, who was a large eater and drinker, was pleased.

"He was most royal received by the Lord Thomas.

Where was such abundance of provisions and all manner of things that greater could not be: both of rare wild fowls and many rare and extraordinary banquets to the great liking of His Majesty and contentment of the whole train. He lay there four nights (May 7–11, 1603). He made divers Knights whose names are there."

Thereon follows a list of 133 names of men who received knighthood on May 11 in the Great Chamber (since called the Governor's Room).

In July of that same year Lord Thomas Howard was created Earl of Suffolk. He seems to have sat lightly to Howard House—perhaps it was too full of ghosts for him; and his heart was in his country home at Audley Inn (End), where, with Thorpe as designer and Bernard Jansen as decorator, he was turning the old house of Lord Chancellor Audley into one of the most stately mansions in England. Perhaps the very costliness of such a task is enough to explain, without further seeking, why Suffolk became anxious to find a buyer for his mansion in Charterhouse, where monarchs were too apt to find a convenient palace at the expense of their subjects. It happened that at this time our Founder was looking for a site for his princely foundation, and on May 9,* 1611, Howard House passed into the hands of "our munificent Benefactor Thomas Sutton," † at the price of £13,000, and the second or Mansion period of Charterhouse came to a close.

* The Charter of James I was signed June 22.

† The Founder's Prayer, still in daily use in Charterhouse Chapel.

GENERAL PLAN OF HOWARD HOUSE.

CHAPTER XVII

THE FABRIC OF THE MANSION UNDER NORTH, NORTHUMBERLAND, AND NORFOLK

The structural changes by which the buildings of the later monastery were adapted to the uses of a mansion were effected mainly during the tenancy of Lord North and of the fourth Duke of Norfolk, the brief ownership of the Duke of Northumberland having left no mark upon the place. There is small difficulty in saying what portion of the buildings, which are seen to-day, belong to the entire Mansion period, but owing to the absence of all documentary record, it is very hard to say what portions were due to North and what to Norfolk.

It has been shown in the earlier pages of this book that through the remodelling of the monastic buildings (confined mainly to the parts around the Chapel and Little Cloister) under Prior Tynbygh (1499–1529), Charterhouse at the hour of its suppression offered a fine opportunity for the shaping within it of a Tudor mansion. The buildings which surrounded the Little Cloister (Master's Court), consisting mainly of the guest chambers (on the upper floor) the Prior's quarters, the Refectory (Great Hall) and kitchen, as well as the Obediences (Washhouse Court) and other offices, being practically new, needed but little change to adapt them to the uses of a mansion. What these changes really were we can only conjecture. It is clear, however, that North, once in possession in 1545, soon set to work to shape inside the walls of the Monastery a mansion which, though it had not the magnificence which it reached in the days of Norfolk, yet was sumptuous

enough to house a queen twice over. At this point I may for convenience recall one or two facts already mentioned. The conveyance of Charterhouse from the Crown to North (Brydges and Hale surrendering their lease) in 1645 describes in detail all the parts of the Monastery, besides the properties in Charterhouse Square. But it makes no mention of any mansion or "Capitale Messuagium" within the monastery. But when North conveys to Northumberland (1553) the deed, practically the same in other points, inserts the words "ac totam illam Mansionem sive capitalem messuagium ac omnia ac singula domos edificia et struct nuper ædificata."

And here, of course, we have a clear indication, if any were wanted, that North, in the eight years which had elapsed since Henry VIII had granted the site to him, had shaped a mansion around the Little Cloister. When we come, however, to consider the relative splendour of that mansion, as it was seen under North and under the Howards, we find that whereas North in 1564 (the deed became actual in 1565) sold Charterhouse, with the properties in Charterhouse Square, to Norfolk for £2200 with £300 additional for Pardon Churchyard, the same property is sold in 1611, forty-six years later, by Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, to Thomas Sutton for £13,000. And here we have the measure of the improvements wrought in North's original mansion by Norfolk.

Queen Elizabeth, when she paid her first visit to Norfolk—her third to Charterhouse—doubtless found a very different mansion from that which had housed her when she came to it before her coronation.

We may entirely pass over the Church, which seems to have remained more or less derelict throughout the Mansion period. I have, however, already pointed out that Maurice Chauncey's statement that it was used by North as a dining hall may, if it be correct, possibly be explained by the fact that structural alterations were being at the time made to the Refectory (Great Hall) to adapt it to the use of a Banquet Hall. If this be so then we should have to attribute the raising of the roof of the Hall in the first

instance to North. That such a change was made is, I think, beyond doubt. The row of square-headed windows above the larger windows was inserted in the Mansion period and represents approximately the addition in height which was made. A visit to the rafters of the roof, now concealed from sight by the ceiling above the hammer beams, leaves on the mind the strong impression of a great jumble of beams and rafters which resulted from the heightening of the roof, and had to be concealed by the ceiling aforesaid. The lower part of the flêche, moreover, is now buried within the roof, but an examination of it shows that it has mouldings and arched openings which were never meant to be hidden, and which were once external.*

This Hall, now called the Great Hall or Pensioners' Hall, has also in recent years been christened "the Guesten Hall." I am not able to trace this name further back than forty years. It certainly was not known in my own day at school (1856–64), nor can I find any of my contemporaries who ever heard the name for it.† It is due to the belief that the Great Hall represents the Guest Hall of the Monastery. I cannot share that belief. I can see in the Great Hall only the Refectory of the Monastery, removed to this position by Prior Tynbygh. It had previously, as we learn from the monastery plan, occupied the site in the Great Cloister where the Brothers' Library is now found. I am inclined to believe that by Tynbygh's alterations the original Refectory, which had become too small for the large number of monks—now often over thirty without visitors—and became the Lay Brothers' Refectory (it is common in Charterhouses for the Lay Brothers to occupy a separate Refectory) while the Monks' Refectory was rebuilt further to the north. The Great Hall would be by

* I may add that the corbels which support the hammer beams in the interior of the Hall appear to me now to be in positions with relation to the windows below which they would not have been likely to occupy in an original design. But here, I ought to say, I do not find some distinguished architects in agreement with me.

† Miss Caroline Hale, who spent her youth in Charterhouse up to 1872, also assures me that she never heard the name.

no means too large for twenty-four to thirty monks, seeing that it is the custom for the Fathers to sit in Refectory on one side only of the table, namely that nearest to the wall. On the other hand, I have never seen—except at Ferrara, whose circumstances were exceptional—any Charterhouse which possessed a Guest Chamber on so large a scale. It is far more probable that the guests, who could never have been so numerous as to need a very large Hall, took their meals in large upper rooms in the guests' quarters.

Here I may mention a tradition which exists at Charterhouse that the Duke of Norfolk set back the east wing of the mansion (in Masters' Court) some fifteen feet to the east. I am unable to trace the source of this tradition. If the tradition is sound a glance at the general plan, and at the existing buildings, makes it evident that in such case the original west front of the east wing of the Little Cloister must have been in a line with the west wall of the Cloister Arcade, and many further suggestions become possible in such a view. We must, however, be content to merely mention the tradition for what it is worth.

The oriel window of the Great Hall which projects into Masters' Court was probably no part of the Refectory but was added by North or Norfolk. It once projected much further into the Court, but in the eighteenth century it was pulled down and the window was replaced in a much shorter bay. Above the arch which unites the bay with the Main Hall, on the south front, are the words "Think and Thank." Owing to the angle of sight these words are quite invisible now from below. But their position shows that the bay must once have been of considerable length,* since on no other condition could the inscription have been seen.

* One of the coats of arms preserved in the window of the bay is that of the protector Somerset (*d.* 1547). If we could assume that this piece of glass had been in this window from the first, and had been merely replaced when the bay was rebuilt, we could, of course, only attribute the bay to North. In any case the existence of this coat of arms in Charterhouse must be due to the fact that Somerset was, with North, one of the Council of Trustees for carrying on the Government in the early years of the reign of Edward VI. There were probably other armorial bearings which have perished.

We are safe, perhaps, in assigning the long gallery which runs east and west on the north side of the Hall to Norfolk. It seems to be of the same date as the great staircase outside, and was evidently made to be an easy means of communication between the rooms in the west wing (where the Duke's privie chamber or study was) and those in the east wing, without the necessity of passing through the Great Chamber (Governor's Room). The gallery originally led directly from the landing of the great staircase to a door (now closed) which gave access to the lobby.

But at this point arises a question of some interest. An examination of the points of junction between the great screen and this long gallery shows that the two were not part of one original design. There has been much cutting and adapting of the screen to get it into its place, and the methods used for that end cannot be called at all happy. It will be seen that the two consoles on the right of the screen have been shifted each a little to the left and no longer rest on the capitals below. The panel on the extreme right in the music gallery has been entirely sacrificed to the gangway opening and has disappeared; and there are other signs of adaptation and dislocation which show that this screen and music gallery were added at a later period than the long east and west gallery.

The screen has on its frieze shields which bear the initials T. N. 1571, the year, we shall remember, when Norfolk was a prisoner in his own home. He seems to have employed his time in making Howard House more magnificent. It is, however, evident that this screen with its upper music gallery was not designed for its place, but was imported by the Duke either from one of his many houses or from some other source. Though its effect in its place is rich and striking, it is hardly of the finest workmanship. It served, however, over and above its effect upon the eye, three useful purposes. First, to intercept to some extent the bitter draughts; secondly, to carry a gallery for the musicians; and thirdly, to hide from the banqueters the kitchen hatches which were previously in full view.

To Norfolk, too, must be assigned the Great Staircase outside the Great Hall to the east. In one of William Barker's confessions, Oct. 14, 1571, he speaks of having brought Ridolfi to the Duke by the " new payer of stayers that goeth up to the old Wardrobe," which can hardly be any but the Great Staircase. It was probably inserted, together with the Long Gallery which led from its landing, in the first years of Norfolk's tenancy. A water-colour drawing in the British Museum shows that up to the first quarter of the nineteenth century the entrance to it from the Master's Court was in the north wall of the court, and not in its present position at the corner. It must be remembered that previously all the staircases of the mansion had been external,* and this very fine internal staircase added greatly both to the comfort and dignity of the mansion.

The terrace and the brick arcade below (known as " cloisters ") were made by the Duke of Norfolk to give access, in dry weather or in wet, to his tennis court. The west wall has on its external face—visible only from the narrow court below—the figures 157, the last figure having disappeared. It can, of course, only have read as 1570 or 1571.

The Great Chamber or Governor's Room was probably in existence under North but was greatly beautified by Norfolk, who added the very fine ceiling † and probably also the magnificent fireplace. The fireplace in the Master's drawing-room is also probably an insertion by Norfolk.

It may be taken as practically certain that North took over the outbuildings of the Monastery round the Laundry Court (Washhouse Court) and on the site of the present Preachers' and Pensioners' Courts, with very little change,

* One only of these remain, viz. at the north-west angle of Master's Court. That staircase led up to the Duke's privie chamber, where the letter of Mary Stuart was found. One wall only of the external staircase, which led from the Entrance Court up to the Long Gallery of Howard House, is still visible.

† The armorial bearings are none of them later than Norfolk's date.

and passed them on to Norfolk much as he had received them, they being, as we have seen, comparatively new and quite serviceable for the uses of the Mansion.

Here, then, we have, allowing for some uncertainties of authorship, a tolerably clear picture of Howard House as it stood on the day when Norfolk went forth from it on the "Fote-clothe Nag." It had become in the twenty-seven years that had passed since North became the owner of the deserted Monastery one of the most sumptuous of the town palaces of the age of Elizabeth. To-day it is the only town palace left to us of its date (there are, of course, many noble country houses of the date in England) which retains any considerable features of its origin. The centuries which have passed have left to it, in spite of the fact that it has been in daily use since that time, and that it has been often altered and adapted to modern uses, much more than might have been expected of its ancient beauty. If Northumberland and Norfolk, if Burghley and Walsingham, if Elizabeth and James, if Suffolk and Ralegh, Drake and Cumberland could come back to the halls where they were once at home they would still see a very great deal which they had set eyes on in the greatest of English centuries.

CHAPTER XVIII

THOMAS SUTTON

Few men of equal importance have met with worse treatment at the hands of their biographers than our Soldier Founder Thomas Sutton. The proved facts of his life are so few that they might have met with better husbandry from those who have handled them. Yet even these have been for the most part omitted or presented in form so disguised and grotesque as to make them hard to recognise. And in their place we have had impossibilities, possibilities, improbabilities, probabilities, inferences, enlargements, all given the same value as of facts, so that the true figure of the man has from the days of his first biographer till quite recently been quite obscured. It may safely be said that up to the time of the appearance of the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* no trustworthy account had been written. Even now few months pass without notices in newspapers which describe him as a merchant. This useful soldier of Elizabeth's day was merchant, in the latter days of his life, only in the sense in which every one in that day who had any money to invest became a merchant, if so it can be called, by taking some shares in the merchant ventures, half patriotic, half commercial, which went forth beyond the line to the far Indies, or to the Pacific shores when a Drake or a Hawkins, a Martin Frobisher or a George Fenner, or a Lord Thomas Howard sailed with a mixed squadron in search of national honour and Spanish treasure. Warwick and Leicester, Ralegh and Essex, Burghley and Elizabeth were on this showing all equally merchants with Thomas Sutton, the Queen's Master of Ordnance.

The first biographer of Sutton was Samuel Herne, fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, who, in 1677, sixty-six years after the Founder's death, produced his work entitled *Domus Carthusiana*. It is a quaint and charming work, whose fancy is quite untrammelled by fact; but it leaves one to deplore that the earliest writer to take in hand this history, one, moreover, who lived perhaps still within reach of trustworthy material, should have missed his chance in fashion so incredible. Still more is it deplorable that almost every writer since has more or less been content to repeat his absurdities.

He begins in his preface by very rightly sweeping aside the casual notices of Baker and Peter Heylyn and Thomas Fuller with all their mistakes. He quotes the childish legend that Sutton's fortune was due to his finding one day, as he mused upon the seashore, a treasure cast up by a wreck. Having thus cleared his page he gives us such a chapter of mistakes on his own part that we are compelled to say that no statement made by him can be accepted unless verified from another source. For example, he gives the names of Sutton's father and mother as Edward and Jane—they were Richard and Elizabeth. He makes our Founder learn his soldiering in "the Italian wars," and says that he was present at the siege of Rome—he does not say on which side, but the omission is less material since the celebrated siege and sack of Rome, by the Constable de Bourbon, took place in 1527, and Sutton's birth cannot be placed earlier than 1532.

Herne marries him to the Lady Popham, widow of Sir John Popham. This couple were the parents of Francis Popham, who married Sutton's step-daughter, Anne Dudley. Sutton is made Victualler to the Navy, but the Navy records, full of detail at that time, do not mention his name. Herne makes him Commissioner of Prizes at the time of the Armada to Charles Howard of Effingham (whom Bearcroft, repeating the story, describes as brother to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk). Here, again, the Navy records are silent. So, too, are these unimaginative documents silent as to the picturesque feature by which

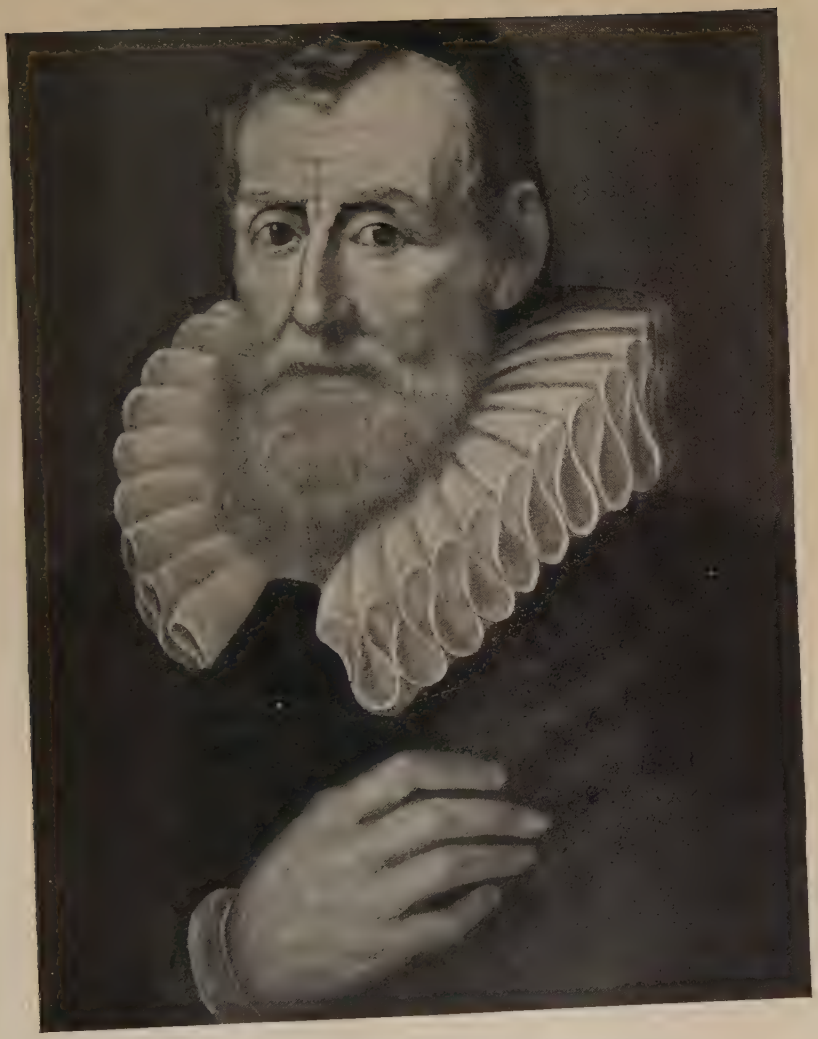
one of Sutton's venture ships is made to bring in a Spanish galleon with £20,000. Sutton is described as a City Merchant, a Freeman, and a Citizen of London. He was none of these things. He is described as a member of the Girdlers' Company, but his name is not found in their books. He is made paymaster to the Northern Army and Commissioner for Sequestration of the property of the Northern Rebels (1569), but no record is forthcoming to establish the claim. It would be easy to add largely to the list, but the instances given are those which have been most often and most strangely repeated.

Sixty years later, in 1737, Dr. Philip Bearcroft, Preacher of Charterhouse and afterwards Master, published his *Life of Thomas Sutton,* in which he corrected some of the most palpable of Herne's romances, and also took in hand other "vulgar errors" which passed current concerning Sutton. Yet, by using possibilities as facts, he left us a work which has misled his successors, especially Smythe, who, in 1808, published an *Historical Account of Charterhouse by a Carthusian.* This book is again too full of mistakes for unreserved quotation, but its excellent appendices, with reprints of original documents, claim for it the highest place amongst the histories of Charterhouse, and incidentally among the lives of Sutton published up to that time.

Thomas Sutton was born at Knaith in Lincolnshire in 1532, as we learn from the inscription on the Founder's Tomb at Charterhouse. He belonged to one of the branches of the old Lincolnshire family of Sutton, whose arms, well known to-day to all Carthusians, were "Or on a Chevron between three Annulets Gules, as many Crescents or." * His father, Richard Sutton, is said to have been steward of the Courts at Lincoln, and his home was in the parish of St. Swithun † which lies near the Stone-bow, the fine arch which spans the High Street of the town. I have failed to

* Kinship has been claimed for the Sutton family with that of Dudley, whose family name was Sutton. The Duke of Northumberland is called in the attainder John Dudley *alias* Sutton.

† The parish church, destroyed by fire in 1644, is now entirely modern.



find out why Richard Sutton was at Knaith at the time of his son's birth. It has been suggested that he was there as steward of "the great house." Such great house may certainly have existed though no trace of it now remains, and if so would have probably been that of the Darcys, who for several centuries had been Lords of Knaith. Or, again, Richard Sutton may have leased a house there at the time. He does not, however, seem to have owned any property at Knaith since none is mentioned in his will. But no certainty can be arrived at on the point.

The parish of Knaith, which to-day has few more than a hundred inhabitants, consists of a few scattered houses and farms lying upon the fifteen hundred acres or so which Domesday assigns to it, on the east bank of the Trent, fourteen miles north-west of Lincoln and three miles south of Gainsborough. In a bend of the river whose meadows slope pleasantly back to the low heights above it on the east, lies the modern half-timbered house known as Knaith Hall, which adjoins the parish church. The tradition at Knaith makes the Hall the place of Thomas Sutton's birth. But here, with every wish to localise the spot where our Founder first saw daylight, we find a difficulty. For Knaith Hall is quite undoubtedly built upon and out of the ruins of the Priory of Heynings, whose walls may be traced both in the house itself and in the foundations visible in the grounds. Heynings Priory was a house of Cistercian nuns, founded probably in the reign of Stephen, as a double house for Canons and Nuns, though the Canons are never heard of again after the original charter. The Priory—one of the many similar houses which were haunted by poverty and inefficiency all along the line of their existence—was spared at the dissolution of 1536, and three years later, in 1539 surrendered to the Crown when Joan, the last Prioress, with eleven Nuns, who had enjoyed an income of just under fifty pounds, went out into the world with pensions. It is quite obvious, therefore, that Knaith Hall, which afterwards rose upon the ruins of Heynings Priory, could not have been the birthplace of our Founder in 1532. It is, however, not improbable that there was an

older Knaith Hall—it seems, as I have said, that the Darcys would surely have had a house to their property which has disappeared, and this may have been near to the site of the Priory. More than this we cannot safely say.

But the parish church, a very interesting building, was certainly there in Sutton's youthful days. It is within a stone's throw of Knaith Hall and was the church of the Priory. It has been questioned whether there was not an earlier parish church which was destroyed, the present church being substituted. I can see no reason to think this. The church has been much larger than it now is, the choir, which seems to have been larger than the present nave, having been destroyed.* It is evident that a church of such a size, built in the fourteenth century, could not have been needed for the sole use of a priory which at no time contained more than a dozen nuns. It may safely be concluded that Knaith Church was the parish church to which the nuns had access, being doubtless secluded from the congregation, as is so often the case. And this view is, perhaps, strengthened by the presence in the church of a fine font of fourteenth or early fifteenth century date—though this, it must be admitted, might have been transferred hither if another parish church really existed. This font, however, we may feel sure, was that at which our Founder was held, whether in this church or another, in the year 1532.

We have no means of knowing how much of Thomas Sutton's boyhood was spent in the pleasant fields of Knaith. He was a child of five when the Pilgrimage of Grace filled the countryside with armed peasants and soldiers, and, a year later still, weighted the gibbets with the corpses of the unhappy rebels. It was the first glimpse to the child of the profession which he was to follow. Tradition says that he was sent to Eton at the advice of Dr. Cox, the Headmaster. The fact that Sutton left a legacy to the daughters of Dr. Cox is somewhat in favour

* There is evidence that in Tudor days the population of Knaith was greater than it is to-day.

of the view. Thence, it is said, he went to Cambridge, where St. John's, Magdalen, and Jesus Colleges have at times laid claim to him. Philip Bearcroft was at some pains to examine these claims, and he printed the letters received in evidence from these colleges. Sutton's name is not found on the books of Magdalen or Jesus College, and the claim probably arose from the fact that he left legacies to each. But at St. John's—to which he left no legacy, however—is found the name, at a suitable time, of one Thomas Sutton, a "quadrantarius" or Sizar. But this can hardly be our Founder, his circumstances having been such as to make it most unlikely that he would have been entered to a position which, in those days, was one surrounded by painful and even menial conditions. It must be remembered that the name of Sutton—owing to the large number of places called Sutton in England—was common then and now.

It may, however, be taken as certain that he was at Lincoln's Inn; and, after that, he is said to have travelled for some time abroad. That is very probable, though the fact that the mendacious but unfaltering Herne gives us the exact periods spent in various countries—two years in Holland, two years in Italy, two years in France, two years in Spain—disturbs, perhaps unreasonably, our confidence. We find ourselves on safer ground when, in 1558, his father, Richard Sutton, makes a nuncupative will in which he leaves to his son the lease of the Manor of Cockerington * in Lincolnshire, together with half the residue of his other property, the other half going to his wife, Elizabeth Sutton, the Founder's mother. She was the daughter of Sir Brian Stapleton (or Stapylton) of the ancient Yorkshire family which, in an earlier century, had produced Sir Brian Stapleton, the great soldier of his day.

Bearcroft in his history, quoting from the *Herologia Anglica*, tells us that Sutton was private secretary to Ambrose Dudley (Lord Warwick), to Robert Dudley

* It is not said whether this is North Cockerington or South. They lie close together near Louth in Lincolnshire. The lease is said to have been valuable.

(Leicester), and to the Duke of Norfolk. It is most unlikely that he should have acted in that capacity to all the three, and so far as concerns Robert Dudley we may, with some safety, dismiss the suggestion since his life and that of Sutton give us no points of contact in their early period at least. But in the case of Warwick and Norfolk it is quite within the fitness of things that Sutton may have acted as military secretary to either of these noblemen, as I shall presently show, in his profession as a soldier at Berwick and in the North.

In 1558, the first year of Elizabeth's reign, we find that Captain Sutton—there is no reason to doubt that this was our Founder—drew pay in the garrison of Berwick-on-Tweed of four shillings a day, having a company under him consisting of a petty captain, an ensign bearer, a sergeant, a drum, forty-six soldiers, and fifty-four harquebusiers. It was a critical hour for England, and no better time or place could have been chosen in which to learn the duties of an officer. It is however evident, from his receiving a commission as a full captain, that he had already seen service and had experience either at home or abroad.

England was in fear, and not without reason, of an attack from France by way of Scotland. The reigns of Mary and Edward and the latter part of Henry VIII had left the defences of the country in parlous condition. In all the dockyards and arsenals of England there were less than thirty cannon or demi-cannon in store. Cecil, in feverish haste, set about renewing the decayed ramparts of Berwick, the key of the approach to England from the north. He wrote two years later to Elizabeth imploring her to put aside her will-o'-the-wisp vision, the recovery of Calais : " neither is Portsmouth, your own haven, fortified, neither the town of Berwick—most necessary of all others —finished." Before the end of 1559 it became clear that it had been no vain fear from which the nation had suffered. In the last month of that year the defenders of Berwick saw a squadron of fifteen French ships run by in sight of the ramparts to discharge, a day or two later at Leith, soldiers

and guns for the nominal support of the dying Mary of Guise, Queen Mary's mother, against her rebellious Scots. Cecil knew well the true purpose, which might indeed have been accomplished if the second squadron under Elbœuf had not found its billet where a later Armada found it also, on the shores and flats of the Netherlands.

Meanwhile, in August, 1559, Captain Sutton being still of the garrison who were working hard at the defences, came Sir Ralph Sadler, a seasoned and good soldier, and Sir James Crofts, an equally bad one. And at length Norfolk, having been persuaded out of his reluctance, came up to take the command, and Berwick perhaps contained at one moment two future owners of Charterhouse. A month or two later Sir Ralph Sadler went forward to the ill-starred siege of Edinburgh, destined to end in the treaty of Leith, while Norfolk took part with the reserves at Newcastle.

Sutton drew pay as a Captain in the Berwick garrison from Dec. 1558 to Nov. 1559. We cannot suppose that his service at Berwick ended at such a moment when every useful soldier was needed and when the French fleet was actually under weigh. There are two ways in which we may account for his ceasing to be upon the pay list of the garrison of Berwick. The first is that he may have been detailed for service elsewhere, at Newcastle, for example, or at some station on the line of communications with the South. The other suggestion is that Norfolk selected him for his military secretary, in which case he would cease naturally to be on the garrison pay list. And if this be so, he would, soon after, have gone south with Norfolk to Newcastle. Here, of course, we are in the region of inference and conjecture. But it needs both to explain how, ten years later, he came, as we shall see, to receive an appointment which made him for life the responsible guardian of the defences of Berwick and the North. Cecil was not the man to have put him there unless the events of the first two years of Elizabeth's reign at Berwick and on the Border had brought to light a man of unusual capacity.

The treaty of Leith, signed on July 6, 1560, perhaps set Captain Sutton free from soldiering for a while, since the post was not a permanent one. The French fleet sailed away from Leith, the English northern army was disbanded. We have no knowledge of Sutton's actions till the years 1566–67, when we find him in the civil capacity of Estreator of Lincolnshire. It is not impossible that, in the years between, he was taking a practical part in the fortification of Berwick, which was presently to become, in the light of those days, an impregnable fortress.* But in 1569, as has been already recorded in dealing with the life of the Duke of Norfolk, when that nobleman was sent to the Tower the northern Lords Northumberland and Westmorland raised at an ill-chosen moment their standard of rebellion. The two Lords were unfit for any enterprise that needed a bold stroke—it might have been different if Northumberland's Countess could have taken the command. Sussex, a dull but honest commander, held York for the Queen—it might have fallen to a rapid assault while the Lords hung about Durham, held processions and cathedral services, and did nothing. Lord Clinton, passing through Lincolnshire to recruit (where perhaps Captain Thomas Sutton joined him), was given time to reach Warwick's little force at Wetherby on Dec. 13, 1569. This was the force, to whichever division he belonged, with which Sutton served. It was no campaign to be greatly proud of. The wretched fragments of what a few weeks before had been a mighty and alarming host, ran for their lives from Durham, in forlorn companies of a score or two together. A letter from Captain Thomas Sutton, now in the Record Office, dated Dec. 18 and written from Darlington, describes the poor rebel-hunt to Hexham across the snow-swept moors. Then came the hanging and the quartering with Sir Edward Horsey, himself an arch gallows man, as chief executioner, and the rising of the North was at an end.

Here, of course, we find Thomas Sutton brought into

* The defences are still to be seen in great completeness.

BERWICK BRIDGE.

THE COW PORT, BERWICK RAMPARTS.

close and necessary contact with Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and perhaps we may recognise here the opportunity which the tradition requires for Sutton to have acted, in the re-settlement which followed the military advance, or even went before it, as secretary to Warwick. We have already noticed that there was a supposed kinship between the families of Sutton and Dudley. There seems also to have been some service on Sutton's part, for there is a deed of Nov. 12, 1569, by which Ambrose Earl of Warwick and his wife, the Lady Anne, granted to their well-beloved servant, Thomas Sutton, for life an annuity of £3 1*s.* 8*d.* out of the Manor of Walkington in Yorkshire, and a little later the lease of that manor for twenty-one years at £26 the year. This grant is very suggestive. And a few months later, on Feb. 28, 1570, we find Sutton appointed—it is said on the suggestion of Warwick—as Master-General and Surveyor of Ordnance to the Queen in Berwick and the North of England for life, his salary to be counted from the previous Lady Day.

The office which Sutton was to hold for the next twenty-five years of his life was the most important of the permanent military posts of that day. In the absence of a standing army the efficiency of the Masters of Ordnance for the various districts of England was the sole guarantee, in the intervals of peace, for the maintenance of the defences of the country. And amongst these no district was of greater moment to the safety of England than that which was now entrusted to Sutton.

We have seen how Cecil spoke of it to the Queen as "the most necessary of all" even with Portsmouth in his thoughts. The duties of a Master-General and Surveyor of Ordnance involved the work of a modern Artillery officer and Royal Engineer in one, and in a district which included such towns as Alnwick and Newcastle, Hexham, Durham, and Wearmouth, Sutton must, in the early years of his office, have had his hands full, and must have spent a great deal of his time in his district. But after the completion of the fortifications of these parts, especially after 1793, when the fall of Edinburgh Castle ended the

last military venture in the North of Mary Stuart's party, the result gave more breathing time to the Surveyor, and after 1580 he found it possible to live, as we shall see, near London, an occasional, or possibly annual, inspection proving sufficient if no immediate danger pressed.

It was in 1573, four years after his appointment, that his work was first put to a successful test. Mary Stuart's son James having been accepted as King, his mother's crimson flag now flew over but one remaining spot in Scotland, the Castle Rock of Edinburgh. Here Maitland and Grange, Melville and Hume, with a garrison of a hundred and forty-seven men, with forty-five women and children, held out for the lost cause of their mistress against Killigrew and the regent Morton, who could make no impression on the mighty rock and its stubborn defenders.

Morton, after poisoning the only good well by the Castle gate, appealed to the English Queen for an army. Elizabeth, "semper eadem," haggled for a month or two about the price, and then, the situation becoming acute, sent troops from Berwick under Sir William Drury, who arrived on April 17. Meanwhile the heavy guns with which Berwick had been supplied were brought round by sea to Leith, where they arrived on April 25. It is obvious that Thomas Sutton as Master of the Ordnance must have been in charge of this operation. The guns having been duly dragged to the scene of action were divided into five batteries, one at the head of the High Street commanding the main Castle approach, another to the south near the Grassmarket, two others to the north and west, and one in the middle of Prince's Street. Sutton was in command of one of these—we cannot say which. By the middle of May most of the batteries were complete, but the great bombardment began on the twenty-second and lasted till the twenty-seventh of that month. The like of it had never been known before in any siege of history—no less than 3000 balls being discharged against the Castle, and answered by Mons Meg and her marrows with strangely little carnage on either side, for the besieging batteries

were firing at an elevation which made serious damage very difficult, while as for Mons Meg, though her "random," in the expressive phrase of the day, was from the Rock to Leith harbour, yet she found it hard to throw her huge stone balls (the residue of her stock may still be seen on the platform from which the quaint old monster to-day looks out over Edinburgh) down into the English batteries below. The poisoned well, the famine, the exhaustion of the heroic little band, with the certainty that at any moment a breach might be made and the place carried by assault, brought an end to the endurance of the Castle defenders, who were allowed to march out, all save the four leaders, under amnesty. Mons Meg was once more silent on her platform, the guns of Berwick were returned to their ramparts, and so far as we know our Founder never again heard a shot fired in anger.

It was not, however, as Master of Ordnance that Sutton was to prove his great practical capacity. His position as Surveyor naturally made him familiar with the whole of that coal-bearing district. He had, besides his professional salary, some little fortune from his father. It has been claimed for Sutton by some writers that he became the pioneer of mining in the coalfields of Durham. This is merely one more of the exaggerations which cling about his name. For coal had been won there in primitive fashion, no doubt, for many a century, and in the centuries preceding Sutton's, the industry had flourished. What Sutton really did was to see the value of that industry and to invest his savings in the purchase of a lease from the Bishop of Durham, between 1569 and 1580, of the Manors of Gateshead and Wickham for seventy years. Here, again, his position has been misstated. The *Victorian County History* speaks of him as the "shrewd financier" who apppeared on the scene at the moment when the industry needed him. But at the moment when Sutton, shrewdly enough, obtained his lease, he was not to be called as yet a financier, merely a wise investor of his small capital. It was out of that very investment that he was to gain the wealth which should justify the name of

financier. The demand for coal was now great and increasing as the coal-fire became a matter of domestic comfort and thousands of chimneys were added to houses. Sutton held the lease of Gateshead and Wickham for some years and then transferred it, no doubt to his profit, to the Newcastle merchants, who held it under the name of "the Great Lease" till their monopoly—most unpopular in London—expired in the seventeenth century. But before Sutton's death the output of coal which was shipped from the Durham coalfields about Gateshead and Wickham on the Tyne had reached a total of 239,261 tons.* In 1580 Sutton himself was said to have amassed a fortune of £50,000 by the venture which his shrewd eye had commended to him.

In that same year, having probably passed on his lease, he came south with his fortune, living, it would seem, at Hackney—he certainly did so in his later life—but not in London itself. He never became a freeman or citizen of London; and in a list of persons of note "not citizens of London," we find his name entered for the ward of Farringdon Within as of Islington (this was after his marriage) he having a room, doubtless for business purposes, when he rode into London, near "the nether end" of St. Dunstan's in Fleet Street. Hackney was in that day a pleasant village separated from London by several miles of green field, much in request for the houses of the great, and sought after by Elizabeth herself in her daily rides.

The village of Stoke Newington close by was another pleasant place of similar type, and here in 1582 (Sept. 17) Sutton, described in the licence as of Littlebury in Essex, where he had just bought an estate, was married to Elizabeth Dudley, widow of Sir John Dudley.† She brought him again much wealth which, added to his previous fortune, made him by common report, perhaps incorrect, the richest commoner in the land. His wife had only a life interest

* In 1905 it was 37,397,196 tons.

† Elizabeth Dudley was daughter of John Gardiner of Grove House, Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks.

in the house at Stoke Newington, which passed at her death to her daughter, Anne Dudley, who presently married Francis Popham, son of Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice, and was none too happy in her match. Queen Elizabeth visited them at their home and seems to have taken much notice of the daughter, on one occasion giving her a jewel to wear in memory of the visit. For twenty years, till the death of Elizabeth Sutton in 1602, this house at Stoke Newington was Sutton's London home. He was, it will be remembered, still Master of the Ordnance at Berwick, and must have often been away from home for considerable periods, and his occupations, during his intervals in London, have been made the subject of much imaginative writing. He has been described as a banker, or more flatly as a money-lender. There is no evidence to justify the use of either name in their ordinary sense. But he was a rich man from whom many other men were glad enough to beg or borrow, and existing documents show that not a few persons from time to time owed him money. The Queen herself owed him £100, and noblemen and commoners followed the Royal example and were not above making use of Sutton's wealth. But in the understood sense, this is hardly either a banking or a money-lending business. We may almost take it for granted, too, that Sutton would often have had shares in the many ventures, half national and half commercial, which continually went forth to the Indies, to the Guinea Coast, and to the Pacific under such men as Ralegh and Howard, George Fenner and Martin Frobisher. These expeditions—sailing some with the Queen's orders, some with her tacit consent, some with her nominal disapproval —often carried the Queen's own shares, and that of many of her ministers, her nobles, and her commoners. But it was, for obvious reasons of national convenience, not the custom of the day to publish a list of the shareholders. It is only here and there that we happen to know by accident that Warwick or Leicester or Ralegh owned a whole ship or so in a venture. In the list of subscribers to the national defence at the approach of the Spanish Armada in 1588

we find the name of Thomas Sutton for the county of Essex, with £100—no larger sum appears in any list—against it.

This was, of course, a patriotic list, but in the list of private venture vessels which took part against the Spanish fleet, we find recorded the barque *Sutton*, hailing from Weymouth, of 70 tons, 40 men, commanded by Hugh Preston (elsewhere given as Pearson), which formed a part of Effingham's division. It is believed, and I share the belief, that this barque belonged to Thomas Sutton. It has been urged that Sutton had no connection with Weymouth. Such a connection was not necessary, since no more convenient port for a small privateer to hail from could be desired. And, moreover, Sutton certainly had west country interests. There is a document in Charterhouse muniment recording a visit by Thomas Sutton on horseback when he was between seventy and eighty, to relations at Bath, and he left some twelve farms near Swindon to the governors of his hospital, which they still possess * (1913). But when we come to further highly picturesque details it is time to stop. Thus we are told that Sutton himself commanded this barque, though we know otherwise, and it is also obvious that Sutton's post at such a moment can only have been at Berwick, on which a descent by the Spanish fleet was quite possible. Again, we are told that this same barque, apparently during the Armada fights, captured and brought in a galleon worth £20,000. The names of the Spanish prizes are pretty well known to the Navy Records, and nothing of the kind is recorded. It is to be said, in favour of the ownership of the barque by Thomas Sutton, that it was a common custom for a private venture ship to go afloat under the name of her owner. Thus in the Armada list of English volunteers we find the galleon *Leicester* † (commanded by George Fenner), so called because she was owned by Robert Dudley, the *Drake* a private venture of the Admiral, the *Bark Buggins*, and a score of others.

* Since sold.

† Previously called the *Ughtred*, after her owner, Henry Ughtred.

Beyond this we must not go, and we must be content to take the question of the barque *Sutton* as a highly engaging possibility.

The evidence of his ventures by sea in this sort have, almost of necessity, disappeared, but the evidence of some other of his investments remain on the surface of the land. We find him possessed of land * in Lincolnshire, at Dunsby and at Buslingthorpe, of land in Essex and Cambridgeshire at Ashdon Balsham (and later at Castle Camps), at Hallingbury, Southminster, Stambridge, Cold Norton, Wigborough in Essex, and as already mentioned, near Swindon in Wilts. These lands, good purchases in their day, were for over two centuries a source of good income to his Hospital, and to-day have sorely lost their value through causes which neither Sutton nor any living person in his day could have foreseen.

In 1594 Sutton's health had begun to fail. He gave up in that year—being then sixty-two years old—his office as Master of the Ordnance at Berwick, a post which, with its long journeys on horseback, must have become a severe ordeal to him. He held at that time the lease of Broken Wharf, which lay a few hundred yards west of Greenhithe, on the north shore of the river in Upper Thames Street just below St. Paul's. The name of Broken Wharf still survives in an opening with landing and steps between dismal warehouses. In Sutton's day there was a dilapidated dwelling adjoining it which, with the wharf, had belonged to the Bigods, the earlier Norfolk family. Some writers have made the mistake of saying that this was Sutton's home in London, but during the whole of the period when he held the lease of Broken Wharf he was, as we know, housed at Stoke Newington. He owned the wharf probably as a mere investment for the sake of its landing fees, and perhaps also for occasional use when some venture in which he was interested came back from the high seas.

* In 1918 the Governors of Charterhouse decided to sell all their landed estates. The farms at Buslingthorp and the Castle Farm (Sutton's last country house) at Castle Camps remain.

The map of about 1593 shows an elevation of the houses at the wharf, and also tells us that the Dutch eel boats which now have their permanent moorings off Billingsgate were, in Sutton's day, lying off Broken Wharf. Sutton resigned this lease in 1594, when the ruined dwelling was turned into an " engine " for the water supply of the City.

But what shows us most plainly that Sutton was at this time sitting lightly to life is the fact that in 1594 he took precautions to ensure, in case of his death, that his great project for the foundation of a hospital and free school could not be frustrated. He assigned to the Lord Chief Justice, Sir John Popham, and to the Master of the Rolls, as trustees, his estates in Essex at his death, for the foundation of a hospital (*i.e.* hostel) for old men and a free school for boys on his estate (which is still (1913) Charterhouse property) at Hallingbury Bouchers,* some few miles west of Bishop Stortford. The deed was made subject to revoke—which, as we shall see, actually took place. A little later in the same year, 1594, namely on Dec. 17, he made his will in which he left the residue of his estates to his wife, Elizabeth Sutton, with a legacy of £2000 to the Queen, " in recompence of his oversights, careless dealing, and forgetfulness in her service, most humbly beseeching her to stand a good and gracious lady to his poor wife." This bequest of Sutton's is not to be taken as an evidence of any real failure in his duty towards his office as a soldier, nor was his wife likely to be in any need of help or protection that should prompt him to try and buy favour of the Queen. It was the conscientious act of a man who was no courtier at any time of his life, and who seems to have had a strong sense of duty. Camden, who does not mention Sutton's name, bears witness incidentally in his *Britannia* to the fine condition of the defences of Berwick, raised in Elizabeth's reign, and kept at a high standard of efficiency, well

* Sutton's lands at Hallingbury Bouchers remained till 1918 in the hands of the Governors. They were once seriously considered as the site for the school at its removal from London.

supplied with all manner of warlike stores. It is a very different story from that which William Cecil had had to tell of it at the end of Mary's reign.

But Sutton was to live seventeen years longer and he seems to have recovered a full measure of vigour both of mind and body during the later years of his life. Elizabeth Sutton after all was to die nine years before her husband, in 1602. The marriage had been a happy one, if we may judge by the glimpses which we get of their relationship from the letters which she wrote to him. She possessed evidently the best qualities of the lady housewife of that day, and her interest in all that fell to her care as such is charmingly shown to us. They seem for some years before her death to have used Balsham as their country home, and when he was away his interests were in good keeping. One such letter,* almost the last she ever wrote, and evidently treasured by Sutton amongst his papers, is worth quoting. The address is " To my lovyng housband Mr Sutton gyve this." It is written on three sides of octavo wire-woven paper, and there are notes, accounts, and memoranda in the Founder's hand jotted down here and there on it

" Good Mr Sutton. I have according to your direction to Edward by word of mouth taken order and sat your plough to worke yesterday. God sped yt. I hayd [had] goodman Hasell's hilpe to buy your too horses of Manard wych most cost x^{l}. [£10]. Edward tels me it is worth xl^{s} [40*s.*] more than you payd and I have taken Manerd's man upon lykyng tell your coming home and gyven tom hart a lesson too follow his worke. As for a shaperd [shepherd] godman Hasell cannot provyd you of any as y^{t} and he sayth that you wir better too kype thys wyth on [one] fault than too take on of the Godard wyth many fautes. VII ploughs of Hadstock be at ploying Wylloms Farant Banks Adam, Boncher Cundall and Flake and they are told that if you cannot agree of a pryes they shall be payd for the worke but th ar [they are] in good hope that

* Charterhouse Muniment Room. Reproduced in facsimile in the Greyfriar, 1912.

you wyll be good to them as I trust in God you wyll. I did hear that they would be glad to give V^{s} an akar on wyth another of yield but ground [*sic*] and truly Mr Sutton God will bless you yf you will let the pore tenantry have yit of a resunaball rent that they may gave yit y our thrashers had down all your barley and would know your plesur yf they shall go in hand with your pease wheat and rye. Also Edward would know your plesur what shall be down wyth the shepe that be at Pettytes he hath spoken three tymes to hym too feeche them awaye hee hayth no fedying for them. Your ewes have been carryd to the pastur. Soe praying God to bless you both and send yourself well too mee. From Balsham this VI of May.

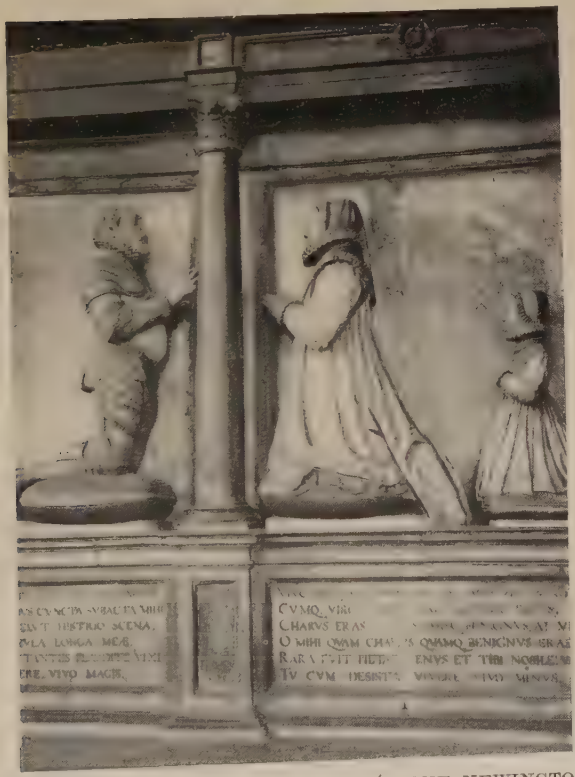
Your loving obedient wife,
ELIZABETH SUTTON.

"Wylam and parsevall went thusday to Mr. Maryet and they payd for malt ii^{s} viii^{d} and for resonabell wheat v^{s} vi^{d} rye at iiii and yt ys though[t] that corn will ryes therefore yf yt plese you yt wer good that your wheat and rye were kept for your one youse [use] I pray you Syngnyfy your plesur yf parsevall shall make any provycyon for malt."

The death of Mrs. Sutton cannot but have brought a great change into Sutton's life. Her life interest in the house at Stoke Newington passed to her married daughter, the Lady Anne Popham, and Sutton seems to have returned to Hackney, perhaps to the house which he had occupied before his marriage twenty years back. He owned several houses there and in one of these he eventually died.* His life must have now become very solitary. He was an only son, so far as we know, and was himself also childless, and we do not hear of any close relations except a cousin, Richard Sutton, and his nephew, Simon Baxter. And he had reached the age when most of the friends and companions of a man's youth have, naturally, gone from his

* These houses, called Sutton Row, are still the property of Charterhouse. They are near St. John's Church, Hackney, and adjoin St. John's Church Institute, an extremely fine old house which retains many of its sixteenth century features. The house in which the Founder died no longer exists.

LADY DE MANNY (MARGARET MARESCHALL).



MONUMENT OF ELIZABETH SUTTON (STOKE NEWINGTON).

side. He is said to have much reduced his household and scale of living, clinging more closely than ever to the thought of his future foundation. He suffered not a little from the importunities of those who knew him for a man of wealth and childless. The collection of begging letters which were found amongst his papers—neither more nor less numerous than is usual in such cases—do not make pleasant reading. Impecunious members of noble families, ladies, beggars in the guise of well-wishers to his soul, beggars without disguise, one and all closed in upon him—as vultures waiting for the prey. It was well for Sutton's ease of mind that his fortune was already ear-marked for a great purpose, and it was well also that his shrewdness and straightness of vision enabled him to avoid those traps which are set in vain in the sight of any bird. Sir John Harrington, the wit and man of letters, whose own baseness of character made him a bad judge of a man like Sutton, sought to pander to a trait which he knew to exist in himself and had so often found in other men. He went about, without consulting Sutton, to open a bargain by which the old soldier was to leave all his money to the Duke of York (Charles I) in return for a peerage. He little knew his man, and he professed a surprise which was probably genuine on hearing of a letter from Sutton to the Lord Chancellor, which is almost fierce in its scorn of the lettered time-server's sycophancy. He had never at any time of his life, he says, suffered from any such ambitions, nor would he hear of that or any such bargain. It would perhaps have been well if he had always kept the man and others like him at a full arm's length. But he had on some occasion lent £3000 to Sir John Skinner, a man bankrupt alike of money and principle, who owned Castle Camps, in Cambridgeshire, which he wanted to turn into ready money.

As the only means of recovering the debt which Skinner owed him, and perhaps also because it was close to his lands at Balsham, he paid £10,800 to Sir John Skinner for this property in 1607. It reads to-day as if he had given very full value for it. But be this how it may the deal

was destined to bring him sore trouble. Sir John Harrington had furthered it by every means in his power, having everything to gain by it, since Skinner owed him also £3000. Sutton, apparently from the determination not to be left in the lurch, and having some suspicion perhaps of queer dealings in the background, postponed the payment of the purchase money until a drastic letter from the Master of the Rolls, Lord Ellesmere—which could not have been pleasant for a man in his position to receive—hurried him to a completion of the payment to Skinner, then in the Fleet Prison. But the episode caused Sutton no small discomfort.

The same Sir John Harrington, little likely to take offence while there still seemed to be money to be had, in the September of the next year, 1608, was writing letters to Sutton to beg for gifts towards "his church," *i.e.* the Abbey at Bath. He puts his lodging at Bath at his disposal and strongly recommends to him the use of the Bath waters for his ailments. Since, however, we find Sutton in these years able to undertake the long journey on horseback to Bath for other purposes, we may conclude that his ailment, at seventy-seven years old, was mainly the weariness of old age. Whether he put the Bath waters on their trial or no we do not know. In 1609 he made sure of the future of his great plan by obtaining an Act of Parliament for the establishing of his Foundation at Hallingbury Bouchers, according to his provisional deed of gift of 1594. This site was by no means ideal for the purpose, and it is quite possible that the long interval which passed between the deed of gift and the Act of Parliament—fifteen years—was due to the fact that Sutton was not entirely satisfied with it, and was hoping to find a better. But now, in 1609, being close upon eighty years old, he found it unsafe to postpone the settlement of his Foundation any longer. Had he died in that same year the Hospital and school would have been founded in Essex and history would have run on different lines. But it chanced that Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, owner of Charterhouse, was at this time, as has already been

told, engaged in building, or rather remodelling, the Mansion of Audley End—and with this great strain upon his purse, and perhaps with no great affection for the London Mansion, he was ready to part with Howard House.

Sutton, recognising doubtless that here at last was an ideal site, agreed on May 9, 1911, to pay Suffolk £13,000 for the site, with Pardon Churchyard and Whitwell Beech —a large sum in those days, though it would be ridiculously small in these. It will be remembered that in 1565 Suffolk's father, the Duke of Norfolk, had paid to Lord North for the same estate £2500. And since the forty-five years which had passed between the two sales had not brought with them any abnormal decrease in the purchasing power of money, such as this would represent, we are able to see in it an evidence of the great outlay which had been made upon the Mansion by the Howards.

We have no details of the course of the negotiations. We do not know whether Sutton approached the Admiral or the Admiral Sutton. But it is easy for us to realise that the two men were in close touch enough to make dealings easy and rapid. They must have been well acquainted. Without calling in the probable or possible connection of Sutton with Suffolk's father (Norfolk), we may feel sure that the two men must have been many times brought together, not only on questions of national defence, but also, and more often, where the question of financing some venture was in hand. And they must have had a sympathy in common with the main purposes of the Foundation, namely, the providing of rest and comfort for the old age of those who had served and saved England by sea and land. Apart from the fact that Suffolk needed money in some haste, we may believe that he found honest pleasure in forwarding a scheme which was to aid men who had been his comrades. He was still in favour with James, and the speed with which the letters patent were obtained was probably due to his influence. They were granted on June 22, and by them Sutton was permitted to found the Hospital and Free School in Charterhouse, the

provisional deed of gift by which it was to have been founded at Hallingbury being of course revoked.

It was characteristic of Sutton, cautious and business-like to the last, that he did not pay the whole of the purchase-money till these letters patent had been obtained —a method which had the double effect of making his purpose secure and hastening formalities to their completion. Suffolk had meanwhile, by a letter of May 25, had to pray for the advance of £1050, giving a promise to take means for the "despatching of your Charter from the King." The actual law formalities completing the deed of gift were at an end by November, and the Hospital of King James, founded at the sole cost and humble petition of Thomas Sutton, Esquire, had its legal beginning.

Sutton seems at once to have set about the preparations for his Hospital. In October he nominated the first Master, John Hutton, rector of his old parish of Littlebury in Essex. Percy Burrell, in his funeral sermon preached on Founder's Day, Dec. 12, 1614, says that he had it from a good authority still living that Sutton had intended to be himself the first Master, but that he set aside the thought in presence of his increasing weakness. On Nov. 2, the day after the deed of gift had been signed, he made his will. It is a document of such length that I have thought it best to use it as an Appendix, merely mentioning some special points within it. It contains many legacies, amounting in all to over £12,000. We have memories of his soldiering days in a legacy to the children of an old gunner of Berwick, Henry Tully; and an echo perhaps of the northern rebellion time in one to a servant of Lord Warwick, living in Yorkshire. Very interesting, too, is a bequest of £100 to fishermen of Ostend. It seems from a note in the earlier will that, about the year 1574, Sutton had bought at Newcastle two boat-loads of salt fish and provisions which had been brought in as prizes by "the Captains of the Prince of Orange." We have to conjecture that these ply-boats were conveying provisions to the Spaniards and were seized as prizes. It was the year of the siege of Leiden. Incidentally the fact is interesting as

suggesting that Sutton, after the siege of Edinburgh, was still in the North. It is clear that he had been ill at ease from the memory of this quite lawful purchase, which nevertheless inflicted loss on poor men quite unknown to him.

We find legacies for the benefit of the poor of Berwick, Lincoln, Beverley, and of nearly all the places where he had property—Hackney, Castle Camps, Balsham, Littlebury, Ashdon, Hadstock, Dunsby (in Lincolnshire), Elcomb (in Wilts.), and Little Hallingbury. A bell is given to the steeple of Balsham, but no mention is made in any shape of Knaith, which seems to confirm the idea that the connection of his family with the place of his birth had been of a very passing nature.

It was in the spirit of the age to regard the provision of bridges and highways as an act of piety—and we are not surprised, therefore, to find numerous bequests for this purpose, though, not unnaturally, these bequests are confined to localities with which he had had relations, or those in which his Hospital was to have interests. We read of gifts for the repair of the highway from Islington to Stoke Newington, and at Hackney, Balsham, Horseheath, Castle Camps and Southminster. We find legacies to nephews and nieces—especially to Simon Baxter and Francis Baxter. A large legacy of £2000 to his stepdaughter, Lady Anne Popham, but so surrounded by precautions, and so guarded by the condition that the legacy is to be subject to a receipt being given as a full discharge, that we are forced to see that Sutton had some misgivings. These misgivings express themselves more at large by a clause which made all his legacies void on the least opposition by the legatee to the conditions of the will. He left £1000 to the city of London for loans without interest to young men to aid them in starting on their business careers. He left legacies to the children of Dr. Cox, supposed to have been his Headmaster at Eton; a gift of £500 to Jesus College, and of the same sum to Magdalen College, Cambridge. All his servants are remembered, and many other persons whom we cannot identify.

Very notable is a legacy of £400 to Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, with the further option of purchasing the Manors of Littlebury and Hadstock for £10,000, the said sum to be used for his Foundation, to which he bequeathed (in addition to all the estates) a sum of £5000, and £1000 for immediate expenses of the House.

When I have mentioned the quaint domestic bequest to Amy Popham " of three feather beds and so many pair of holland sheets with the bolsters to them, with so many hangings of tapestry," I shall have given all the samples that are needed of a will which is singularly typical of the age in which it was made, and even more characteristic of the individual who made it. Sutton has had his critics, both in other matters and in the details of this his will; but for myself, as I read through the thoughtful, kindly paragraphs, I find in it a very human document telling of the painstaking nature of a man who did his good by method and with forethought, of one who had in a long life obtained a very sure and clear-sighted outlook on the needs and claims of life, and, above all, of one who did not intend to let any of his great purpose fail by lack of care on his part. The comment has been made that Sutton would have done better to have divested himself of some of his riches at an earlier date in his life, and to have made them over by a deed of gift. It is, I think, a sound answer to this, that Sutton may have judged that, by his own husbandry of his estates, so long as his life lasted, he was more likely to leave behind him a sum adequate to his purpose than if he had cut the increment short by a much earlier deed of gift.

The appointment of a Master is dated Oct. 30, 1611. Two days later, Nov. 2, he signs the deed of conveyance of the Hospital to the Governors, and on Nov. 28 he makes his will. The combination of these three acts within a month shows that he realised that his time was short. A fortnight later, namely on Dec. 12, 1611, Thomas Sutton was dead in his house at Hackney.*

* A local tradition at Hackney makes St. John's Institute the house in which Sutton died. It adjoins property which belonged to Sutton. The real house was destroyed.

He had named as his executors his friend John Law, "one of the procurators of the Arches," and a cousin, Richard Sutton, while the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbott, and the Bishop of Ely, Lancelot Andrews, King's Almoner, were made overseers of his will.

It is important to note that the first Governors who were to administer the affairs of the Hospital and to draw up its Constitution had been named in the letters-patent granted on June 22, 1911, and it is not possible to doubt that they were there by Sutton's choice and with their own approval. The original list is as follows :—

The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury (George Abbott).
Thomas Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor.
* Robert, Earl of Salisbury.
John King, Bishop of London.
Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Ely (the King's Almoner).
Sir Edward Coke, Knt., Lord Chief Justice.
Dr. John Overall, Dean of St. Paul's.
* Sir Thomas Foster, Knt.
Sir Henry Hobart, Bt. and Knt., Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas.
George Montaigne, Dean of Westminster.
Henry Thoresby or Thursby, Esq.
Richard Sutton, Esq.
John Lawe, Esq.
Geoffrey Nightingale, Esq.
Thomas Browne, Esq.
Rev. John Hutton, M.A., Master of Charterhouse.

* The Earl of Salisbury (Robert Cecil) and Sir Thomas Foster died before the first Governors' Meeting. Their places were taken by Henry, Earl of Northampton, Lord Privy Seal, and Sir James Altham, Knt., one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

CHAPTER XIX

THE IMMEDIATE SEQUEL TO THE FOUNDER'S WILL

THERE is no wish more often felt and expressed by men than that which asks that their laying to their rest shall be of the simplest, and it is the one wish that is most universally set aside. Sutton's words in his will are "and my body I will to be buried where, and in what sort, it shall seem meet and convenient to mine executor or executors, and supervisor or supervisors of this my last Will and Testament, with the least pomp and charge that may be." In what sort the executors interpreted this last wish will presently be seen.

Sutton, as we have said, died at his house in Hackney, and the bequest in his will of a sum to be spent on the repairing of the highway receives some light from the decision of the executors that the roads were so bad in winter that the body must remain where it was till it could be transferred. It was therefore embalmed and encased in a coffin of lead,* and not until May 28 of 1612 was it transferred to its temporary resting-place in the old church of the Franciscans (Greyfriars), Christchurch (adjoining the present General Post Office), until it could be carried to the vault under the wing which was now to be added to Charterhouse Chapel.

The Governors held their first meeting that day at

* This coffin remains in the vault beneath the Founder's tomb, having alone been allowed to keep its place in April 30, 1898, when all the other coffins were removed to Woking. A note in the handwriting of Archdeacon Hale, which I have seen, states that he measured the coffin and found it to be 5 feet 8 inches in length.

Hackney before the funeral. Never, perhaps, was private person carried to his grave with greater pomp or at greater charges, in spite of his own longing for a simplicity which belonged so much better to his nature. The Governors themselves followed the bier, with the Earl of Suffolk, Francis Popham, and many others in the train, which, we are told, consisted at least of 6000 of all conditions of men. The great procession, after its long march from Hackney, paused for awhile at John Lawe's house in Paternoster Row, and then, if we are to believe what we are told, took six hours to achieve the few remaining paces to Christchurch, where the funeral service was held. As for the funeral feast, which took place directly after in Stationers' Hall hard by, it could have no more claim to immortality than any other consumption of human food, save for a certain quaintness which, perhaps, makes it worth recording in an Appendix. What most concerns us is that the charges of the funeral, its black cloth hangings, its pompous procession, its Herald's Office fees,* the strewn rushes for the floor, the colossal eating and drinking reached the huge amount of over £2000, including, however, the splendid tomb which Nicholas Stone and Bernard Jansen were presently to make at a cost of £400. The tomb, indeed, is the one feature of it all which can be regarded with satisfaction as a right and worthy memorial to the Founder.

But no sooner was this great funeral over than one of its chief mourners produced for us an object-lesson on the sometimes value of sorrow so expressed. Simon Baxter, Sutton's nephew, whose name appears in the will for a legacy of £300, at once took steps, "suborned by others" as he afterwards declared, to upset the will, and he commenced legal proceedings. He did not, however, stop at that. For, believing in the legal force of possession, he made, with some companions, an attempt at forcible entrance to Charterhouse. Once more a valiant Charterhouse porter, as in the days of Mr. Sheriff

* William Camden, Clarenaeux, signs the receipt for the heraldic painting used for the occasion.

Kimpton, proved equal to his post. Richard Bird, an old servant of Sutton, who had been made porter, barred the gatehouse and kept possession for the executors. It is difficult to see what possible case Simon Baxter could have had. The will was regular in every respect. Relatives had not been forgotten, all due claims had been provided for. There would hardly be found in these days a solicitor to advise so hopeless an attempt, and that very fact reminds us that in those days the course of justice was more subject to other influences than in these. There are items in Sutton's will which show that he foresaw danger from opposition to his plan. Some of the legacies are plainly meant to smooth the way. The Governors themselves had, equally, no illusions. Their policy throughout the critical period that followed Sutton's death was to appease in various shapes all those who, from the King downwards, might interpose obstacles.

We shall, however, do well to follow the exact legal sequence of the events that followed, and I think it important to append at the end of this chapter a table which shall show at a glance the dates of the various transactions which led up to the final settlement of Sutton's Hospital. These dates have been strangely misstated in existing histories of Charterhouse, and inferences have been drawn which would have been greatly modified if more accuracy had been observed.

In the first place, however, mention must be made of a document to which we cannot with certainty assign a date. We have spoken of Simon Baxter's assertion that, in his lawsuit against the executors, he had been "suborned by others." There is no doubt that Sutton's Foundation was strongly opposed in powerful quarters, and from no source was the opposition more dangerous than from Sir Francis Bacon, the Solicitor-General, who presently was to appear as one of the advocates for Simon Baxter. In the Charterhouse Muniment Room is preserved the copy of a letter written by Bacon to James I. It bears unfortunately no date, and we are left to place it in its position with reference to other events by conjecture.

The Baxter suit was, according to Sir Edward Coke's report, in the Michaelmas Term of 10 James I, *i.e.* 1612. It is not conceivable that Bacon should have had the indecency to write the letter to James after the case had once become *sub judice*, and it is therefore necessary to place it between Dec. 12, 1611, the date of Sutton's death, and the autumn of the year 1612. The letter, which is quoted at full length, has been several times reprinted * and is, both in style and in manner of argument, typical of the great philosopher and lawyer.

He fills many pages in characteristic phrases and argument to disparage, as it seems, this and all kindred schemes of charity. His letter proceeds with much sententious wisdom expressed, as he alone could express it, to his own final conclusion—one which one can hardly believe to have been reached by one who has been called "the wisest of mankind." He finally proposes, indeed, to substitute for Sutton's purpose, which he has to the best of his great powers discredited, one of three schemes of his own. The first of these is the foundation of "a Colledge for Controversies." The second is a "receipt," *i.e.* place of reception; he "likes not the word seminary," for converts from Romanism to the Reformed Religion. The third scheme was to use the endowment for the appointment of preachers to peregrinate those corners of England which were backward in religion. Purblind as he was, where his vanity was played upon or his supposed sagacity invoked, James, even in his most fatuous moments, which were many, could hardly have been tempted to endorse the colossal folly of at least the first two schemes. We do not know what effect, if any, the famous letter had upon the views of the King. We shall presently see that the Governors, after they had apparently secured legal certainty, thought it well to make sure of the Royal Mind by a method not unfamiliar in that day. For the present, however, we must return to the dry record of the lawsuit.

* See Symthe, *History of Charterhouse*, and Dr. Haig Brown, *Charterhouse, Past and Present.*

Baxter, the plaintiff, in his suit against John Law and Richard Sutton, the executors of the Founder's Will, alleged that the defendants had broken into Charterhouse, his lawful property as Sutton's nearest of kin. Therefore, ran the order of the Court at this first hearing, "Let a jury come before the King [King's Bench] on Saturday eight days [Octave] after Hilary" (*i.e.* Feb. 1, 1613). It was "respitted" till "the Monday next after the Morrow of the Purification of the Blessed Mary next following" (*i.e.* Feb. 8, 1613), at which time came Richard Sutton, John Lawe, and Simon Baxter through his attorney. The jurors being called, the jurors say on oath that Thomas Sutton was seised of the property: and that on July 24 of 7 James I (1609) it was enacted by Act of Parliament that Thomas Sutton might found a Hospital at Hallingbury. [It will be remembered that on June 22, 1611, letters-patent from James had authorised the change of site to Charterhouse.] A day was accordingly given to appear before the Lord the King until Wednesday next after fifteen days of Easter. [Easter Day fell on April 4 in 1613.] The Court, that day, "was not advised." A day was given until Friday next after the morrow of Holy Trinity to hear their judgment. [Trinity Sunday fell on May 30, in 1613.] The case was adjourned out of King's Bench into Exchequer, and on June 2,* 1613, it was argued at the bar for the plaintiff by John Walter of the Inner Temple; Yelverton of Gray's Inn; and, lastly, by Bacon, Solicitor-General. For the defendant by Coventry, Inner Temple; Hutton, Serjeant-at-law; Sir Henry Hobart, Attorney-General. Case argued in Exchequer Chamber by all the Judges of England and Barons of the Exchequer except the Chief Justice of King's Bench, being then sick—to wit, Sir Robert Houghton, Sir Augustus Nicolls, Sir John Dodderidge, Sir Humphrey Winch, Sir Edward Bromley, Sir James Altham, Sir George Snigge, Sir Peter Warburton, the Chief Baron, and Sir Edward Coke, Chief Justice of Common Pleas, and it was resolved by them all in their arguments,

* It is interesting to note that Richard Bird, the porter, was called on this occasion.

except by Baron Snigge and Justice Coke, that the defendants, Law and Sutton, were not guilty.

It is essential to note that this judgment, which decided in favour of Sutton's Foundation, was given on June 2, because some writers have hinted that this decision was obtained, or at least accelerated, by something like a bribe held out by the Governors of Charterhouse. The " bribe " in question—namely, the gift of £10,000 to the Crown for the rebuilding of Berwick Bridge, presently to be mentioned —was not offered till June 26, twenty-four days after the judgment had been delivered. The judges, at least, must be acquitted of any charges which have been brought against them through the failure to observe the sequence of events. It is, indeed, hard to see what other judgment they could have given. The case was so clear, the steps taken by the Founder had been so careful and complete, that it is not possible for us to explain how it came that Baxter should have entered a suit so hopeless, except upon the supposition that he trusted to influences, which in this case entirely failed to set aside the course of justice.

The Governors had now obtained judgment which placed the legality of the Foundation beyond further question, and already, by the Letters Patent of June 22, 1611, the Royal Consent had been obtained. Nothing but the revocation of these Letters Patent—a most improbable step on the part of the King, even though that King was James I—could now prevent the completion of Sutton's scheme. Whether, indeed, the Governors thought it wisest to make all safe with the King by a seasonable offering (as has been generally assumed), or whether their action (for we may suppose that the two overseers of the will did not act without consulting the Governors), it is certain that on June 26, 1613, the Archbishop of Canterbury (George Abbott), and Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, the overseers of the will, wrote a letter to King James, in which, after much preamble, they profess that " having advisedly considered that there is not any charitable work better for the Common Wealth than the upholding,

maintaining, and repairing of bridges" (here they do indeed echo the thought which we find so often inspiring gifts and bequests throughout the Middle Ages, when the provision of secure Roadway by land and Bridgeway by water stood as a high Christian duty), they desire his Majesty's acceptance of the sum of £10,000 for the repairing—it was practically rebuilding—of Barwick Bridge on the River Tweed. Whether this was really of the nature of a bribe—there are clearly two views possible—or the use of a sum by the overseers which they had the right to use for a pious purpose, the King received the gift with great complaisancy. For on July 8, 1613, the Governors were let know by a Royal letter under the Privy Seal that "we are well pleased to accept thereof accordingly."

But nine days earlier than the writing of this letter, namely, on June 30, 1613, the Governors held their first meeting. I find this date given in no less than four previous histories as July 30, but the minute books of the Governors' Assemblies leaves no doubt whatever that it was held on the date which I have given. And the question is not without its bearing on the subject, for it shows that the Governors had no doubt whatever of their position, and it perhaps suggests that the King's acceptance or refusal of the gift of the overseers was not a matter which so affected their position that they need wait for a pronouncement. And so five days after the overseers had, whether by way of bridging over their danger or by way of pious duty, made their offer to the Crown, they felt free to begin their practical duties as organisers of Sutton's Hospital. Bacon's Bear Garden for Controversies and the Clearing-house for Converts were set aside in favour of a place of training for the work of life for the young, and a place of honourable rest after the work of life is over for the old. Sutton's purpose was founded on the eternal needs and claims of Humanity. With a restraint which is rare in those who long cherish a great project, only to see it pass from their hands before it is accomplished, Sutton did not tie the hands of the Governors whom he had chosen as to the details of his hospital. The exact Constitution

of the Foundation was left for them to shape. They met for the first time for the purposes of real business—the meeting at Hackney on the day of the funeral can hardly be counted—twenty-eight days after the decision of the Judges, namely, on June 30, 1613. This "Assembly of Governors" was held in the Great Chamber or Reception Chamber of Howard House, destined from that day forward to be called "the Governors' Room." An entry in the expense book tells us of the sum expended on hangings for the occasion, and on rushes for strewing the floor a practice which had almost reached its last days in England—and, above all, a large salmon, presumably from the Thames. All the sixteen Governors were present.

It goes without saying that no Governors' Assembly of equal importance has ever been held, since before the members had that day passed out of the Porter's Lodge the shape which the double Foundation was to take had been fixed. It will be best at this point to quote verbatim from the minutes as they exist in our Muniment Room.*

"Item. It is constituted and ordayned by the Consent of all the sayed Governors that there shall noe Rogues or Common Beggars be placed in the said Hospitall but suche poore persons as can bringe goode testimonye and certificat of their good behavioure and soundnes in Religion and suche as have been Servaunts of the Kyng's Ma^tie^ either decrepit or old Captaynes either at Sea or Land, Souldiers maymed or ympotent decayed Marchaunts men fallen into decaye through Shipwrecke, Casualtie, or Fyer or such evill Accident; those that have been Captives under the Turkes * etc."

"Item. No Children to be placed there whose parents have any Estate of Lands to leave unto them but onlie the Children of poore Men that want Meanes to bringe them up."

* It will be remembered that the word "Turk" had at this date obtained a generic meaning, applying in a general sense to sea-rovers, pirates, and enemies at large from whom the sailor and the marchaunt venturer alike might meet with disaster to their fortune.

Here we find indicated for us the spirit in which the first Governors interpreted their trust. The clause points to the "poor gentleman" class rather than to the class which we usually call "the poor" or "the indigent poor."

It behoves us to go into this point at greater length than should seem necessary, because it has at times been urged that Charterhouse is one of those trusts which have been wrested from their true purpose, and turned to the advantage of a class higher in the social scale. The Founder's intention, it has been said, was to create a Foundation for the good of the needy poor. It will therefore be of use to place before the reader some important considerations.

Sutton had nursed his scheme since, at least, 1594, but probably for a much longer time. In that year, it will be remembered, he conveyed provisionally his Essex estates for a Foundation at Hallingbury, and in 1610 obtained letters patent for it, to be changed in 1611 into letters patent for Charterhouse; but in none of the three instances did he insert any detail as to the Constitution of his Hospital, nor did he exactly in those legal documents define the class for whom he intended it. To the letters patent for Charterhouse, however, the names of the first Governors were attached. It is impossible to suppose that Sutton had not obtained their individual consent to act in that capacity before their names were inserted, nor can we suppose that he failed to possess them of what his real purpose was. There is evidence that he himself had studied carefully the character of his future Foundation. Amongst his papers was found a copy of the regulations for the Knights of Windsor (now in our Muniment Room), with marginal notes and comments in Sutton's hand. If we transfer ourselves to his position we find it hard to suppose that he would have left his Governors free to shape his Foundation unless he had felt sure that he could trust them to shape it according to his wish. In any other frame of mind he would assuredly have tied them by closer definition. Perhaps it would have been better,

for the silencing of future cavil, if he had done so. That he did not so may be claimed as the strongest presumption that he and they were at one before his death as to his meaning.

Another argument will seem of force to those who have understood the precarious condition of the scheme in the middle of that summer in which (June 30, 1613) the first Assembly was held. It had escaped from the quicksands of the law, but safe anchorage was not yet assured. On all sides were enemies who were averse to seeing so much promising plunder taken safely into port. Any flaw in the action of the Governors would have been at once seized upon to make the scheme a wreck. We have read Bacon's letter, for example, and he was but one of many. Is it conceivable that with the knowledge of this state of things the Governors, before they were out of danger should have, at their first serious meeting, run the risk of shipwreck by perverting the purpose of the Founder? There were, it must be remembered, scores of men then alive who knew and had heard from Sutton what he intended. The outcry would have been loud and instant from those who were watching for an opportunity.

A curious little piece of incidental but forceful evidence is found in the statement of Percival Burrell in a sermon preached on Founder's Day, 1614, already quoted.* In it he declares that he had it from a friend of Sutton's, still alive, that the Founder had intended himself to be the first Master of the Hospital. Now, in the first days of the Hospital the Master and officers dined with the Brothers. It may of course be said that it does not follow that Sutton would have adopted this arrangement. But it is hard to believe, even without insisting on that detail, that Sutton, a man who had lived amongst the high ones of the land, should have proposed to himself to end his days in the immediate company of men of the lowest social grade.

The sixteen men chosen by Sutton to be the first Governors were men of high standing and character. They

* Printed in 1627. A copy is in the British Museum.

included his kinsman, Richard, and his personal friends, Law and Thoresby, who would hardly have kept peace if they had seen their old friend's wishes abruptly set aside. It was an age, moreover, in which the literal adherence to the known purposes of a trust was held to be more of a sacred duty than in these later days, when greater freedom of interpretation is admitted. And we can hardly be wrong in thinking that on June 30, 1613, the Governors were expressing the intentions of the Founder which had been made known to them when they first consented to act. The position of those who believe, as the writer does, that the acts of the first Governors essentially present the acts of Sutton himself, seems sufficiently strong without further elaboration.

Little more was done at this first Governors' Assembly beyond the renewal of a few leases upon Sutton's estates. It is to be noted, however, that John Hutton was present, as the minutes record, in his capacity as Master. No election by the Governors of this first Master ever took place—though some writers have recorded one—since it had been made superfluous by the fact that he was named as such by the letters patent of June 22, 1613. Hutton was Vicar of Littlebury in Essex, a few miles from Saffron Walden, where Sutton owned the Manor,* and where he at times made use of the Manor House as a residence. Sutton is occasionally described in earlier documents as " of Littlebury " on this account. Hutton resigned his post next year, 1614, before the Hospital had come into being, and accepted the small living of Dunsby in Lincolnshire.† At their next Assembly on Nov. 13, 1613, the Governors proceeded to practical details. They elected a Preacher, Humphrey Harkness, a Steward, John Mocket, and an Auditor, John Wolton. The twenty-one first Brothers, headed by Captain George Ffenner, of whom more hereafter, were nominated and elected, and the first Gownboy or Scholar on the Foundation,

* Left conditionally by his will, with Hadstock, to the Earl of Suffolk.

† This living is still in the gift of the Governors (1913).

James Mullens was also elected. Until, however, the Foundation actually was to be opened (nearly a year later) the Brothers were to receive at the rate of £5 a year. A working committee of eight, four to form a quorum, was appointed, Baron Altham, the Dean of St. Paul's (Overall), the Dean of Westminster (Montaigne), Henry Thoresby, Jeffery Nightingale, John Lawe, Richard Sutton, and the Master. These were entrusted with the task of sifting and reporting on all applications for the Brotherhood and for the School, with large general powers also of provision for all needs, and reconstruction of the houses and rooms of the mansion to the purposes of the Foundation. Law and Sutton were specially charged with the provision of all needful materials for this work, and of all household stuff. It is at this point that we have to deplore the loss of the first, and by far the most instructive, of all the committee books.* A note in the handwriting of Thomas Melmoth, Registrar from 1741 to 1767, tells us that it had already disappeared in his day. It would have enabled us to realise the exact changes which were made and, judging by the minute completeness of the rest of the series, would have given us absolute certainty on many points which are now merely conjectural. The expense books and accounts of the date supply the defect only in a few instances. We learn, however, that the Chapel was at once taken in hand. It will be remembered that in monastic days there had been not a few chapels, a chapterhouse, sacristy, etc., built against the main church. These had, since the suppression, been removed, leaving, it seems, nothing but the main church which had in some shape existed since 1349, and the tower with the three storeys of chambers within it, of early sixteenth century date. This church (now the south wing of our Hospital Chapel) being only 61 feet 6 inches by 22 feet 9 inches was far too small for its purpose. A second wing of almost similar size was built on to the north of it, the north wall

* In 1909 the Master recovered from a second-hand book dealer a few pages of this lost book. It proved to be the copy of Bacon's letter. But it seems probable that the rest of the book had been thrown aside as of no value when those pages were torn from it.

of the original church being moved a few feet to the north and pierced through by three open arches. It is stated—and it is probably true, though this is, perhaps, one of the lost facts which the committee book took with it—that this north wing, with the arches in question, was carried out under the direction of Nicholas Stone, the great statuary and architect, to whom the tomb of the Founder—there is no doubt on this point as the receipt exists—was entrusted. Many of the minor details of the change are in our account books and will be dealt with in their proper place.

The Great Hall and the adjacent Scholars' Hall needed little to adapt them to their use for the Brothers and Gownboys. In the Great Hall a chimney-piece was added, or one previously existing was remodelled, and a fireplace and doorway leading to the "cloisters" placed in the Smaller Hall. These two halls communicated by open spaces on either side of the fireplaces (which were placed back to back). The Master and the officers with the Brothers, nearly ninety in all, dined in the Great Hall, while the scholars, to the number of forty, dined in the Smaller Hall. The Great Hall was now paved with Purbeck stone.

The living quarters of the Brothers were constructed within the portion of the buildings which had been the monastery barns, and had, perhaps, served a similar purpose in mansion days.* Knowing what we do of the splendid nature of such buildings in the great monasteries and remembering that they had probably been rebuilt less than a hundred years before, we can understand that by good planning the shells of these buildings could well be used as the outside boundaries of the new rooms which were now set up within them. We read of floors being inserted, and a mason receives payment for thirty-five chimneys. Unhappily no description of these quarters,

* These quarters, perhaps up to the standard of their early day, were demolished between 1824 and 1842, and gave place to the more comfortable quarters designed on the principle of college staircases with separate rooms for each Brother which the Architect Blore then erected as the builder of Pensioners' Court and Preachers' Court.

which survived well into the nineteenth century, has been preserved to us. They were divided, probably, into separate tenements, with staircases approached from the Court by narrow doorways. One of these doorways was preserved when the buildings were removed, and was made the entry door from Chapel Cloister to Brooke Hall, where it may still be seen. There seems to be no doubt that the accommodation given in these comparatively primitive quarters was in all respects far below that which is now provided.

The forty Gownboys were housed in the great building which had been, before its remodelling, the Tennis Court of Howard House. This stood at the north end of the covered arcade and of the Terrace Walk over it which the Duke of Norfolk had constructed, resting it upon the ruined west front of the line of cells. A Tennis Court in Elizabeth's day, and especially in the ownership of such a man as Thomas Howard, was often a sumptuous affair, and here again the existing building, under fifty years old, was without much difficulty divided into storeys by the insertion of floors, and partitioned off into dormitories in the upper stages, and two large living-rooms, called Writing School and Hall, on the ground floor. Between these two rooms a broad stone paved lobby gave space for a fine oak staircase which led to the upper quarters. This lobby was entered from "Scholars' Court" by a fine doorway * whose stones are now imbedded in the wall of the cloister at Godalming. From this the lobby led across the ground floor of the building into "Cloisters" and so gave access to "Upper Green" (once the great cloister of the monastery), and at the point where it touched the great cloister wall there remained a considerable portion of one of the cottage cells (probably from its position cell E † in the monastery plan). This cell

* The practice of carving names on the stones of this door does not seem to have begun before the end of the eighteenth century. The earliest name upon it is of that date.

† This cell, unhappily destroyed after 1871, was in the writer's day used by the "school groom" for the storage of his utensils, and wares which he had for sale.

had been embodied in the Duke's Tennis Court probably as a convenient storage for odds and ends connected with the Tennis Court.

We have no trustworthy data for describing the accommodation of Gownboys in these early days of its existence. That it was primitive, judged by the standard of to-day at Public Schools, is sure enough. The present writer spent nine years of school life in it from 1856 to 1864, and it had then twice passed through a stage of remodelling and improvement, once in 1805 under Doctor Raine as Headmaster, and later again in the Mastership of Archdeacon Hale. By 1864 it had reached a point of substantial comfort which was equal probably to that of any Public School of its day, and was enough for any healthy lad, but was still very far behind the equipment of Public Schools fifty years later. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the original accommodation of Gownboys in 1614 would have greatly shocked the modern parent. It had not that effect upon his predecessors in the production of strong English character.

We may suppose that the Governors provided according to the standard of their age, but with a leaning, as was fit for such a Foundation, towards simplicity of life. But they were fully alive to the value as an influence in the formation of character of dignified surroundings. And though, in the dormitories above, Gownboys slept two in a bed (till the year 1805), yet on the ground floor in "Writing School" there was provided for them a really noble room some seventy feet long by thirty feet broad, whose richly decorated ceiling was supported by eight lofty oak columns, square in section.* This ceiling divided into panels was decorated with the arms of the first Governors of Charterhouse, and was carried out by the King's plasterer in 1613–14. It was, of its kind and date, amongst the finest ceilings in England, and it is to be deplored that steps were not taken to preserve, at least, the arms

* In 1835 when the Headmaster (Dr. Saunders) for the first time ran a boarding-house, one half of Gownboy Writing School was taken to form Saunderite Long Room.

which adorned it. In all other respects the appearance of the house was severely simple, until on the increase of the numbers to sixty, Gownboy Hall * was enlarged under Archdeacon Hale's hand, and became a worthy companion to Writing School.

I have enlarged at this point on the structure of "Gownboys" as it will not have any place in the description which I propose to insert later of the buildings as they exist to-day, and because it seems important that some record should be left by one who knew it.

To return, now, to the work done in 1613–14, in preparation for Sutton's Foundation. We find that the Gatehouse was rebuilt, "being like to fall"—a fact which once more strengthens my belief that since Norfolk's day the mansion had passed through a period of some neglect. The fishpond was probably filled up, as we hear no more of it.† The open square of the Great Cloister, which had become the Garden and the Bowling Green of Howard House, now became "Upper Green," serving as one half of the playground of the school. Its northern boundary was a low mound, known as "Hill," which schoolboy tradition held as the site of "the Plague pit." Its origin, however, was far other than this. It merely represented the site of the seven cottage cells of the north wing of the Great Cloister, and covered some of the débris and foundations of those buildings. ‡ On the north of "Hill" lay a second open space much larger than Upper Green, and known as Under Green. It had been the monk's wilderness or wild garden, and the wall, which in turn bounded it on the north, separated it from the street, now Clerkenwell Road, which retained the name of Wilderness Row till within a few years of the present date (1913). The covered arcade, which had led from

* One of the fireplaces of Gownboy Hall is preserved at Godalming in "Hodgsonites."

† Its site is now covered by the north wing of Pensioners' Court.

‡ I have already mentioned elsewhere that as a boy at school I once saw, in the course of some excavation, the foundations of one of these cells laid bare. The height of "Hill" was much increased when in Dr. Russell's day Upper Green was levelled to form a cricket ground, the surplus rubbish being laid on "Hill."

the main mansion to the Tennis Court of Howard House, now served as a passage from Gownboys to Gownboy Dining Hall * (not to be confused with Gownboy Hall, which was inside the house itself) and was always known by the name of Cloisters.

With regard to the other material changes, it seems probable that the dwelling-house of Howard House required little change. The east wing and part of the south wing became the Master's Lodge, and beyond an account for two partitions and door frames—which I suspect to have been the partitions dividing the great drawing-room from its two neighbours—I am not able to trace any work done upon it. The kitchen department and the offices passed naturally and with little change into the uses of the Hospital, just as they had once passed from the " obediences " of the monastery to the service of the mansion.

These changes resulted from the Governors' Assembly of Nov. 13, 1613, and the sub-committee must have carried them out with great speed and energy, since in one year from that date they were complete. One readily perceives the need of such speed. It was employed not merely that the benefits of Sutton's bequest should reach those for whom it was meant at the earliest moment, but doubtless in a much greater degree because the Governors were anxious to place their trust out of reach of further attack or change of mind in high quarters. A Foundation already completely in being, was obviously safer than one whose details were still in the future.

Another Assembly was held on Dec. 10 of that year, and the number of the Brothers was completed up to eighty. We do not know—owing to the loss of the committee book—at what moment the Founder's Tomb was commissioned. A year for the completion of such a work was certainly little enough, and it is possible that it had been put in hand from the time of the midsummer Assembly. We find a minute at this Assembly to the effect that Captain Barnabie Rich, one of the first four Brothers elected, was to be absolutely dismissed, being a married

* Now the Brothers' Library.

THE BROTHERS' LIBRARY.

REFECTORY STOOLS (*c.* 1500).

man; but a gift of £20 was at the same time made to him by reason of his good service formerly done. Richard Clark was also struck off the list with a gift of £10 (so it seems to read) "on the proviso that he come not to the Star Chamber to trouble the Lords." The possible use of the Star Chamber as an appeal under such circumstances is instructive.

An interesting minute, too, of this Assembly of Dec. 10, 1613, is that which orders that "the Master, the Preacher, the Receiver, the Steward, the Surveyor, the Schoolmaster, the Usher, shall have their dyett together at one table, the sum of five shillings and eightpence being allowed weekly for the dyett and fyer of each one." Here we have the original institution of the Masters' and Officers' dining-table which at a later period obtained the title of Brooke Hall from the fact of its being held in the room which bore that name.*

No further Assembly of Governors was held till July 14, 1614, when thirty-five scholars of the Foundation (Gownboys) were elected. The first, James Mullens, had been elected in the previous November. It was decided also that "the Tombe which is to be made in remembrance of Thomas Sutton, the Founder, shall be placed and sett on the north side (where it remains) of the sayde Chappell and that the seates of the poore Schollers shall be next thereto." They remained in that position till the migration to Godalming. On this day also the Statutes of the Foundation, of which a draft had been prepared by Mr. Serjeant Moore and Mr. Coventry, were, by means of copies, to be submitted to the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, and Baron Altham for their opinions and comments.

In the interval between this assembly and the next (Dec. 3) several events of great interest occurred. The first instalment of Brothers were housed in their quarters after Michaelmas. On Oct. 3, the schoolmaster and usher seem to have entered upon their duties. At what time the

* When the school was removed to Godalming the Masters' common room there retained the name, for whose origin see a later chapter.

first Gownboys slept in their future home is not recorded, but it is perhaps safe to assume that by Founder's Day of that year, Dec. 12, 1614, the place had made its true beginning. Before we come to that date, however, we must note that at an Assembly of Dec. 3 the resignation of the first Master, John Hutton, who accepted the living of Dunsby * in Lincolnshire, was announced, and Andrew Perne was appointed in his place. The death of one of Sutton's two executors, John Lawe, was also announced, and his place was filled by Dr. William Birde, of Littlebury, Essex, probably a friend of the Founder.

On Dec. 12, 1614, the body of the Founder was brought by torchlight from its temporary resting-place in the church of the Greyfriars (Christchurch, Newgate) to its home in the vault beneath the great tomb (not then completed), borne thither on the shoulders of the Brothers of the Hospital.† The sermon, which was afterwards printed, was preached by Percy Burrell, who afterwards became Preacher of the Hospital. It was in this sermon that Burrell stated, amongst other facts connected with Sutton's life, that he had it on the authority of one who was still living, that the Founder had intended himself to be the first Master of the Hospital.

1594.	Sutton's estates at Hallingbury and elsewhere in Essex conveyed to Sir F. Popham and the Master of the Rolls, with power to revoke.
1610.	Act of Parliament.
1610.	Letters patent from James I, for a Foundation of eighty old men and forty boys at Hallingbury Bouchers in Essex.
1611, May 11.	Charterhouse sold by Thomas Howard,

* Still in the gift of the Governors.

† There is an early minute of the Governors which gives Captain Robert Barrett leave of absence for one year to undertake something in the King's Service—a fact which strengthens the probability that he was the Robert Barrett who commanded the bark *Toby* in the Armada fleet. It was not uncommon to give Brothers leave of absence in the early days, even to go and serve with the Swedish King.

Earl of Suffolk, to Thomas Sutton for £13,000.

1611, June 22. Letters Patent from James I authorising the transfer of the Foundation from Hallingbury to Charterhouse.

1611, Nov. 1. Sutton's deed of gift.

1611, Nov. 2. Sutton's will.

1611, Dec. 12. Sutton's death at Hackney.

1612, May 28. Sutton's funeral in Christchurch, Newgate. First Governors' meeting.

1613, Feb. 1. The case of Simon Baxter *v.* Governors of Charterhouse first heard.

1613, Feb. 8. Postponed hearing of the case.

1613, June 23. Baxter *v.* the Governors of Charterhouse heard before the Exchequer Judges. Decision in favour of the will.

1613, June 26. The letter of Archbishop Abbott and Dean Overall, surveyors of the will to James I, offering £10,000 for repair of Berwick Bridge.

1613, June 30. Second Governors' meeting (held at Charterhouse).

1613, July 1. Decision in favour of the will confirmed by Lord Chancellor.

1613, July 8. The King's reply, accepting the £10,000.

1613, Nov. 13. Third Governors' meeting. Appointment of officers. First Brothers.

1613, Dec. 10. Fourth Governors' meeting. List of eighty Brothers completed.

1614, July 19. Fifth Governors' meeting. Thirty-five scholars elected.

1614, after Sept. 29. First Brothers housed in Charterhouse.

1614, Oct. 3. First scholars, Gownboys, housed in Charterhouse (?).

1614. Sutton's body buried under the Founder's Tomb.

Dec. 3, 1614. Governors' meeting. Number of scholars made up to forty. Nicholas Gray confirmed as schoolmaster.

CHAPTER XX

THE FOUNDER'S TOMB

It has seemed best to devote a special chapter to a work which, apart from its great interest in its connection with Charterhouse, also deserves more exact record as one of the masterpieces of its own period, and especially of its chief sculptor, Nicholas Stone. The receipt which is preserved at Charterhouse shows the signatures of Nicholas Jonson, John Kinesman, and Nicholas Stone, and bears date of Nov., 1615. But an entry in Stone's notebook, now in the Sloane Museum, shows that payment had been made in May of that year. It runs as follows :—

"In May 1615 Mr Janson in Southwark and I did set up a tombe for Mr Sottone at Charter Hous for the wich we had 400£ well paid, but the letell monement of Mr Lawes was included the wich I mad and all the carved work of Mr Sutton's tombe."

Quite lately there has been found in our Muniment Room the first design by Niclolas Stone for the figure of the Founder in full armour. It is evident that Stone abandoned it in favour of the more picturesque civilian's costume as we now see it.

We are not able to judge from the receipt, however, whether the tomb was nearly completed by the day of the Founder's burial or not till some months later.

The contract for the tomb would appear to have been put into the hands of the well-known masons' firm of the Jansens (Jonson or Johnson in English). The head of

FOUNDER'S TOMB: NICHOLAS STONE. 1615.

this firm was Nicholas Jansen, a native of Amsterdam, who, some twenty-seven years before this date, had settled in Southwark,* and presently became a well-known and prosperous man in his profession. He married an English wife and was the father of five sons. One of these sons, there is little reason to doubt, was that Gerard or Gheraert Jansen who made the bust of Shakespeare at Stratford-on-Avon. There is still less reason to doubt that another of the sons was the Bernard Jansen who was several times associated with Nicholas Stone in the production of sculptured tombs, and probably in the case of the Founder's Tomb. Bernard Jansen had a good reputation in his day, and he has even been described as the architect of Audley Inn (End) for Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk. But it is probable that he merely acted as a co-operator under Thorpe the architect in actually working the architectural details. Of John Kinesman I can give no account. Nicholas Stone does not mention him as having any share in the work of the tomb. I take him to have been one of the partners of the firm of the Jansens.

It is, however, quite safe to assume that the design of the Tomb and the figures throughout are due to Stone, who was called in by the Jansens as the most promising sculptor of his day. Nicholas Stone was a native of Woodbury near Exeter, thought to have been born about 1586. He had been apprenticed to Isaac James, and presently had gone over to Holland, perhaps in the company of one of the De Keysers, who had large shares in Portland quarries. He worked in the studio of Pieter de Keyser, who was the son of the more celebrated architect and sculptor, Hendrik de Keyser. Indeed, it can be shown that, while Stone was working with the De Keysers, the tomb of William of Orange at Delft was under their hands, and Stone not improbably had a share in it. That he was held in great esteem by them is shown by the fact that he was allowed

* The yard and workshop of the Jansens seems to have been near the Globe Theatre to the west of St Mary's Overy, now Southwark Cathedral.

to design the portico of the Westerkerk at Amsterdam * which Hendrik built, and he presently married a daughter of the family. At the time of the Founder's death he was in Holland, but had returned to England before 1614. It is not unlikely that he was summoned home by the Jansens when, in 1613, they received the commission for the Founder's Tomb.

Samuel Redgrave, in his *Dictionary of English Artists*, states that Stone built the wing which was now added to the old monastic church. There is little doubt that the tradition which he relies on is correct, though I am not able to find any original authority for it. Our expense books give only the names of the workmen who carried out the work, and no master mason (architect) is mentioned. That there must have been one is obvious, and if we had the lost committee book we should probably find the order both for the Tomb and the new wing and aisle under one head.

It is somewhat notable that visitors to the Chapel have often been struck, in looking at the three open arches which divide the new wing from the old, with the resemblance to the style of Inigo Jones in the strap work and ornament, as well as in the general feeling of the whole. But it seems that Inigo Jones was away in Italy at the time when the changes in the Chapel were put in hand. And the association between Inigo Jones and Nicholas Stone, which afterwards united them in so much work in London, had hardly yet begun—yet it may have already begun. At all events, either Stone had already come under the influence of Inigo Jones, or he brought with him from Holland details which Inigo Jones had also assimilated from the same source.

Smythe, in his *History of Charterhouse*, commenting on the choice of a place for the tomb by the Governors (doubtless by advice of Stone), says that a worse position could not have been found as, owing to the darkness, it

* I am unable to find at the present day any trace of Stone's work in the Westerkerk. The church dates from 1610 and the following years, and corresponds to Stone's sojourn in Holland.

could not be seen. And remembering that the window at the east end which now lights it from above did not exist till after 1824, one is tempted to agree with Smythe. But one has to ask oneself what other position could have been found. There is absolutely no wall space for it in the older part of the Monks' Church, and one has mentally to reconstruct the whole Chapel as it stood, after Stone's addition of the second wing, to realise the fact that, beyond the site which was actually chosen, there was only one other which was possible. This would have been exactly in the centre of the north wall (the outer wall in that day) between the two windows (now set back into the present north wall of the third bay), and exactly opposite to the middle arch of the arcade. This would have been a far finer position, and would have given to the Tomb a most impressive effect, dominating the whole Chapel. But perhaps questions of expediency in seating the congregation affected the choice. And it must be remembered that the Tomb would still have been ill seen in consequence of the blinding effect of the windows on either side. There was but one remedy—namely, that which was applied in 1824—of lighting the Tomb by a window at the east end. It is very hard to understand how this method could have escaped Stone himself or the Governors of the day. The Tomb and the seats of Gownboys must have been, at all times, in semi-darkness. The light upon the Tomb from the east window above it is now excellent, and enables us to realise the richness and beauty of a work which has no superior in its own immediate period and country.

It is, of course, no part of our task to criticise the style of Art to which this Tomb belongs from the purist point of view—to compare that style, for example, with the lovely fragments of Gothic sculpture which Time has left us, or with the masterpieces of Early Italian Renaissance. All that we need say is, that there are few tombs of its date in England which, either in the general effect or in the individual details, are so impressive and so satisfactory. We might, indeed, most of us prefer that the poor emblems

of corruption—the death's head and the scythe, in which that age took such delight—had been left out, but here our objections end. One is at once struck by the sense of proportion which, apart from its fine colour and quaint detail, gives such dignity and stateliness to the work. It is essentially an architect's design at a time when fine proportion was still the first aim of architecture. And its colour reaches richness and sombre harmony by the employment of the natural colour of marbles, though "pictures," as the accounts call them, *i.e.* painted marbles or stone, are not absent. Through successive tiers of statues and reliefs and heraldries the eye is brought down till it rests upon the sleeping figure of the Founder.

The account presented by the firm of Jansen to our Governors enables us to identify all the figures and reliefs with three exceptions, presently to be noted. On the highest point we find the virtue of Charity personified under the well-known symbol of a woman carrying a child, and the companion virtues of Hope and Faith (holding a book) are seen at a lower stage. Two small "putti," nude children, carrying the one a spade, the other an inverted torch, symbolise we learn, labour, and rest. But two females figures nearest to the wall are undescribed. One of them (left) carries a cornucopia, the other (right) an object which appears to be a nest of young birds. If this be so I should interpret them as plenty and want or riches and poverty, the birds having an allusion to the "two young pigeons" accepted as the offering of the poor. Strangely enough the very important feature of the bas relief in the upper portion of the Tomb is not accounted for. This relief, which is an admirable piece of work, shows us a preacher in a pulpit with two rows of figures in black gowns and white collars of the period, whose strange attitudes are evidently intended to express deep emotion. Behind them are standing figures in civil costume, intended perhaps to suggest the Governors, officers, and persons interested in the Hospital. It is to be noted that there is no sign of any young persons or boys of schoolboy age —a fact which suggests again the belief that the Brothers

were, in a Public interpretation, the main feature of Sutton's trust.* There is, by the way, a curious tradition at Charterhouse that this relief represents Sutton himself preaching to his first Brothers. The tradition shows a fine scorn of dates and facts. As a soldier, Sutton had no place in a pulpit, and had especially provided, it would seem, for a Preacher. But Sutton was dead nearly two years before any congregation of Brothers met in Charterhouse. The relief, we may feel sure, simply presents, in sculptor's shorthand, the idea of the religious nature of Sutton's Foundation under the general picture of a sermon to the Brothers.

In the lowest compartment we have a tablet of black marble with the epitaph, which reads as follows :—

Here lieth buried the Body of Thomas Sutton, Esquire, at whose only costs and charges this Hospital was founded, and endowed with large possessions for the relief of poor men and children : he was a gentleman born at Knayth in the County of Lincoln of worthy and honest parentage : he lived to the age of seventy-nine years and deceased the 12th of December 1611.

This tablet is held at the corners to left and right by two " supporters " of two-thirds life size, in half armour. They are called in the account merely the " two Captaynes " —but once more we find some writers assuring us they are Sutton's two executors, John Lawe (who was a civilian and a lawyer) and Richard Sutton. The view is, of course, quite without value, and we may again feel sure that their presence there is merely symbolic of Sutton's once profession as a soldier, an indication needed to complete the sculptor's meanings, since the sleeping figure beneath is given to us in quiet civilian robes.† Thus we are shown the two sides of the Founder's life.

Concerning that figure—very simple and very expressive and wholly worthy both of the great Founder and the

* It will be noticed that Bacon, in his letter of protest to James, had said but little of the school half of the Foundation.

† See previous page on the earlier design in armour.

great sculptor—we may at once say that as a portrait or likeness of Thomas Sutton we must not demand too much of it. It is, like so many monumental effigies of its time, the presentment of a general ideal which we find running throughout them, rather than an attempt at individual portraiture. At the time of Sutton's death Stone was probably not in England, nor is it likely that he had ever set eyes on the living face of the Founder. We do not, moreover, know of any portrait of Sutton made in his lifetime save one * which was little likely to be known of or used at that time. Stone was probably content to make a general statement of a dignified old man in the civil dress of his day, nor did the fashion of the day in funeral effigy demand anything more exact.

At this point it may be convenient to step aside to speak on this question of the portraits of our Founder. The best known of these is the full length which hangs on the east wall of the Great Hall. This picture was painted by order of the Governors in the year 1657. The minute runs as follows :—

"October 9, 1657. We do hereby order that the Founder's Picture be drawn at large and set up in the great chamber where the Governors use to sit and that the Arms as they are now in the great seal of England together with the respective Arms of the Governors in a circle encompassing the same be drawn also at large and set up in the Great Hall over the Master's Table." [The last portion of this minute does not seem to have been acted upon.]

Sutton had been dead fifty-five years. For the last ten years of his life he had lived in great retirement and had quite ceased to be seen and known in places of public resort. The artist to whom the commission was given could never have seen him, could hardly even have known any one who could describe the Founder as he looked in life, even if such description ever were known to prove of much use to a portrait painter. The artist must have fallen back upon the effigy on the Tomb. And,

* Now at Godalming.

indeed, when we examine the portrait in question, we find no reason to dissent from this view. There is an immobility and unreality in the face which is quite explained by the circumstances of its production. There is a fine full-length mezzotint of it by John Faber, the younger, made in 1754. The plate seems to have yielded few really fine impressions, and these are now very rarely seen. It is in its worn and ordinary state common enough, but has been seriously retouched. A half-length mezzotint by the younger Faber also exists. I have never seen a really fine impression of it. The full-length portrait which hangs on the landing in the Master's Lodge was made in the eighteenth century, with slight alterations, from the portrait of 1657 in the Great Hall, and, once more, is of no evidence. There is quite a population of engraved portraits of the Founder, most of them designed for book illustrations, and all of them derived, in some degree at least, from the Great Hall or Master's Lodge versions. I have never seen one of these which has any claim to respect, either as a work of art or as a portrait.

In the Town Hall next the Stonebow Arch at Lincoln, hangs a portrait which bears the name of Thomas Sutton. It has the Charterhouse Arms in the corner—not, of course, an evidence, since that kind of addition merely shows that the person who placed them there was satisfied to accept the identity. The portrait—which appears to have been given at an earlier date than the painting of our Great Hall picture—has no resemblance to any of the portraits of Sutton, and is without value. From time to time ostensible portraits of Sutton come into the market, but they have proved to be copies of less or more merit from the Great Hall portrait, with one exception.

That exception must now be mentioned. About the year 1884–85 Messrs. Pearson, the art dealers of Coventry Street, purchased the panelling and contents of a house in Stoke Newington which was to be demolished. The panelling had been painted or whitewashed. But on the back of one of the panels was found pasted a memorandum, somewhat mutilated, which recorded the fact that the

portrait on the face of the panel was that of Thomas Sutton, Founder of Charterhouse. It ran thus :—

" Thomas Sutton born in Lincolnshire 1532 died 1611. He purcha[sed] the Charterhouse for 13000£ an[d] founded a hospital for the relief of indigent men and children. Painted by Rubens. J. H. Bonell [or Bovell] Jan. 12 [the year is worn away]."

Though the record is of a later date, the portrait is evidently of about the time required, namely, the last years of Elizabeth or early years of James. And remembering the connection of Sutton with Stoke Newington, we find it no small increase of the probability that the memorandum on the back, clearly placed there lest the identity of the portrait should by and by be forgotten, is trustworthy (except, of course, as to the authorship). It is certainly a portrait from life, and not a plagiarism from a statue or from a tradition. The writer of this book, after going very carefully at the time into the circumstances, came to the conclusion that we have here the one authentic portrait of our Founder which exists. If it be not so, there is no other. The portrait now hangs in the Hall of the School at Godalming.

If one is asked how it came that Sutton had escaped having his portrait painted in an important fashion by any of the capable men who have handed down to us the appearance of such men of the day as Gresham, Dr. Caius, Nicholas Bacon, and many and many another, one can only answer that it is consistent with the unostentatious, simple character of the man.

The descriptions of his personal appearance in Herne and other writers are, one is forced to suppose, mainly imaginary.

CHAPTER XXI

THE EARLY DAYS OF SUTTON'S HOSPITAL

The Brothers entered upon their heritage after Michaelmas, 1614, some few months before the Foundation Scholars (Gownboys) made their appearance. It is to be noted as indicating to some extent the type of man for whom the Brotherhood was designed, that in the first list of Brothers a large proportion are "Captains." Of these not a few bear naval names, and it is reasonable to suppose that some of these, as well as those who were captains by land, had come in contact with Sutton either in his capacity as Master of Ordnance or as one who had interests in Merchant Venture. The absence of all description in our Hospital records makes it hard in most cases to assert an identity, but when we come to such names as Captain George Fenner, Robert Barrett, Winter, Lawson, Hakluyt, we feel that we are not dealing with mere coincidence. Many others there are whose surnames agree with those which we find in the Navy records. It is very likely that many of the twenty-five brothers who were nominated at the first assembly were Sutton's own choice. It may be, too, that Suffolk had some voice in suggesting men who had served England well in the hours of her need and were now left high and dry to beg their bread in their old age.

The first name on the list of Brothers is that of Captain George Ffenner (Fenner or Fennar). There is little reason to doubt that this is that great seaman whose best action made a landmark in our naval history. He was one of a great family of sailors, either natives of Chichester or at least Sussex men, of whom no less than

four held commands in the fleet against the Spanish Armada; but of these, though he did not ever obtain the rank of Admiral like his cousin Thomas, none stands so high as a seaman as George Fennar. He was of the type of John Hawkins rather than Francis Drake—half buccaneer, half naval officer, but wholly patriot. We hear of him first, dimly, in his youngest days as having made an expedition to the Gold Coast about 1558. Then, in 1566, when Hawkins had fitted out an expedition for Guinea and when, on the protest of De Silva, Hawkins was stopped, we find Fennar in command, doubtless of the same expedition, but with a solemn injunction from the Crown that he should not visit the Indies, nor injure any of the Queen's subjects, or do anything against the King of Spain. With these orders Fennar started southwards with three ships, to find himself treated by the Portuguese as a pirate (not without show of reason) in the southern seas. He barely escaped them at Santiago off the Cape de Verde Isles by cutting his cables and making for the Azores. Here, separated from his consorts, and alone in his little ship the *Castle of Comfort*, he was innocently—so he said—following up a Portuguese ship to borrow a cable, when he was set upon by a Portuguese galleon of 400 tons and two caravels. He held his own somehow all that day, but next morning four more caravels had come up. By superior gunnery and seamanship he beat them off all that day, and they hauled off at night. When the third morning broke the *Castle of Comfort* had escaped.

Naval historians rank this as the first great example of an English gunnery action, soon to be followed by so many others, but by none more masterly than that of George Fennar of the Azores. Of the results of the expedition—to the shareholders—we have no record. For the next twelve years Fennar was "trading" with Holland. His views of trading were unhampered by the shackles of international law. We hear of his bringing in two French ships into Portsmouth—much aggrieved, moreover, when his Government made him give them up—and at a later date again he is made to restore French prizes taken off

La Rochelle. But when the Spaniards and the Flushingers, whose views of commerce were much as his, from time to time pillaged his ships he was full of protests which availed him not. However, when the Great Armada was expected and England needed her best seamen, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, placed him in command of the galleon *Leicester* (called after him), one of the two largest private ships in the fleet. In the months before the great arrival he was specially told off with his cousin Thomas (in the *Nonpareil*) to patrol the coast of France for vessels running between Spain and Holland. But when the Armada came he was back with his division (Francis Drake's) and played a gallant part in the three great naval actions of Portland Bill, the Isle of Wight, and Gravelines which saved England and which most Englishmen hardly know by name. Then, the danger past, Fennar is found back at his old enterprises, sometimes on private venture service, sometimes employed by Cecil. He surveys the port of Boulogne for the latter, and is with Essex in the Island Expedition, and then, in 1597, when Essex, Suffolk, and Ralegh were sent to blockade Ferrol and destroy the Spaniards' ships, the Queen, through Cecil, inserted a singular clause into the orders: "As we have had good experience of the faith and judgment of our servant George Fenner, we require you for any consultation concerning any matter to be attempted at sea to call him to your council and hear his mind." It is clear enough that if George Fennar had been a man of title he would have been Lord High Admiral. As it was a few years' lapse was to see him penniless. Two years later, when England was full of the coming of the fresh Armada, it was once more to her George Fennar that the old Queen and Cecil looked. He was sent in the *Dreadnought* to cruise off Brest and watch the mouth of the Channel. But he had to put back to Plymouth for provisions and stores. Spinola, a seaman worthy to be named with Blake and Nelson, seized the chance and ran out with his six galleys. The news, slow of travel, reached London too late. Cecil despatched a messenger in hot haste to Plymouth, to tell Fennar that Spinola was at

La Hogue with his galleys. "Tarry not, good George, but do the best you can, for we would be very glad these might be catched or canvassed [foiled]. . . . You are a wise man and have experience to use stratagems." At noon that day Fennar weighed anchor and was gone, his Dutch allies lumbering after him three hours later. He reached La Hogue to learn that Spinola had gone thence before Fennar left Plymouth. The brilliant sailor of Spain ran past Howard and Leveson posted at intervals to intercept "the baggages," as Cecil called them, and was in the Scheldt, while Fennar was crowding all sail off Le Havre. It was a failure none of Fennar's making, but the mockery which long clung to the coming of the Invisible Armada was a sad end to a great career. Old and disappointed he is heard of no more at sea. The *Dictionary of National Biography* suggests that he may have died about the time—but there is little doubt that he lived to find his haven at last in Charterhouse in 1617 or 1618. It is a striking fact that to him alone * was accorded the honour of burial in the Chapel itself. He was borne thither on the shoulders of the Brothers, some of them his old comrades in arms.

I have dwelt at some length on George Fennar as typical of the kind of man that Sutton and his first Governors seemed to have in view for the Foundation. But there were others who deserve some brief mention. Another Armada name is that of Captain Robert Barrett. He is probably or possibly the man who commanded the *Toby* of 250 tons, 100 sailors, fitted out by the City of London against the Armada. And that same Captain Robert Barrett of the *Toby* was perhaps the "Mr. Barrett" † who was master, under John Hawkins, of the *Jesus* at San Juan de Ulloa, destroyed in the treacherous attack by Don Francisco de Luxan. Of Captain Lawson we only know that he found it hard to be second in command on a

* This special honour can hardly have been due to the fact alone that his name came first on the list of men appointed to Sutton's Hospital, since that might have been mere accident, implying nothing. The exceptional honour was doubtless due to the exceptional distinction of the man.

† See Kingsley's *Westward Ho!*

new deck, for on July 6, 1615, he is reported to the Governors for behaving "very contemptuously against the Master," and the Governors thought "the faulte . . . so verry fowle" that they "respitted" the matter till a later assembly. Another of these early Captaynes—John Gascoyne—after various efforts to rescue him from debt, is reported as in prison, whence he makes application to the Assembly for his "daily dyett." Another Brother, Robert Beale,* a little later, in 1636, is recorded as having had a year's leave of absence on the King's service to become Lieutenant of the *Merhonneur* in the expedition of 1635—an appointment which shows him to have been no mean seaman. For that ship, of 800 tons, built about 1570, was still one of the finest in the English Navy.† It was not uncommon in the first forty years of the Hospital for Brothers to get leave to take active service for a season. There are records of men who joined the Swedish King—Gustavus Adolphus. One of these perished "in the overthrow at Revel"—*i.e.* one of the unsuccessful attempts in the long siege. Another dies at the siege of Breda in 1643. A Brother was expelled for joining the King against the Parliament; another for a similar offence (the proclivities of the place were assuredly Royalist). One Calton was put out, being convicted of misprision of treason. Another for coining. Altogether the Masters of those days must have had no easy task in keeping order amongst a set of men who brought in with them, some of them, the swashbuckling ways of the parts about Fleet Street and Shoe Lane. It is no wonder that the Masters succeeded one another in somewhat rapid sequence at that time.

We get a glimpse of one of the inner tragedies of the place from the records concerning one Captayne Bell,

* But on April 21, 1642, the same Robert Beale with Gabriel Marston and Robert Davys, having absented themselves without permission of the Governors or Master in his Majesty's service on the late Northern Expedition, found the Governors' Assembly of a different temper, and were refused all concessions.

† Her real name was the *Mary Honora*, which soon became the *Mere Honneur*, the *Mer honneur*, and even the *Merit Honneur*. She had carried the flag of Suffolk at the siege of Cadiz and of Essex in the Island Expedition.

whose conduct to the Master (Francis Beaumont) was such that the Governors sentenced him on February 27, 1622, to be expelled unless he made apology on his knees before the Master in the Great Hall in presence of all the officers and Brothers. Two years later, on July 9, 1624, he had failed to comply and was put forth. But perhaps he soon found that poverty in a garret was harder than what had been asked of him in the Hospital, and we find his name back on the list. We do not know if the condition was insisted on—one hopes that the turbulent old offender was spared the indignity.

Here and there a man loses his place, being found to be a married man—as Sir Robert Wingfield, one of those Knights whom James had created in the Great Chamber years before. The decree against marriage ran throughout the Hospital and applied alike to all who lived inside the walls. We read of a Preacher (William Ford, 1618) displaced thereby. The Master might not be married.* And even the Master Cooke in early years lost his place for matrimony. So early as October 28, 1615, the Governors issued an order that "no woman or stranger might lodge in the Hospital." There were, however, two matrons—there were no nurses till 1791—so probably they had to lodge out. I am not able to find the dates at which these monastic institutions began to die out under the inroads of matrimony.

Meanwhile, in the absence of most civilising influences, life in the Brothers' quarters must have been something of a Bear-garden. We find orders by the Governors against drunkenness—any one guilty of it was to be sent out till his case could be considered. Some years later expulsion in such a case was made absolute. There was grumbling and complaining; the Butler was charged with keeping a squirt to mitigate the strength of the beer (spelt "Bear"). Into all these things the Governors inquired with minute care but without often finding a

* The restriction proved helpful when Richard Steele, undaunted by any question of fitness, applied to be made Master. The existence of poor "Prue" saved the situation. The Governors fell back on the statute of celibacy.

verdict for the plaintiffs. Indeed, it may here be said that from first to last along the 300 years which have passed over the Foundation the minute-books are evidence of the thoroughness with which the Governors have watched over the interests of their trust. One is amused, for example, to find in this early period how, after a debate on some burning question on the constitution of the Hospital a Committee of Bishops, Judges, and Lords settle down to consider what is to be done with the dripping (sewett). And this is merely a typical example out of many.

A very suggestive order was that which the Governors found it necessary to pass on Feb. 26, 1622, by which it was enacted that none of the Brothers of the Hospital "shall wear any weapons, long hair, coloured boots, spurs, or any coloured shoes, feathers, or any Ruffian-like or unseemly apparel, but such as becomes Hospital men to wear." Also no Brother might presume to wear his hat in presence of the Master except at dinner.

It was sound wisdom on their part to allow some time to pass before crystallising their experience into statutes. For the first twelve years or so they were content to frame orders and to consider their policy as need arose. It must be owned that, to judge from the minute-book, they had soon collected a useful body of evidence as to what was needed to produce chaos or order in such institutions. It can easily be understood that the sudden bringing together of eighty old men of broken fortune and free-lance life should have resulted in the admission, amongst the better type, of some of the flotsam and jetsam of those troubled times. Twelve years of experience probably taught both Governors and Master most of the situations which were likely to arise, and by 1627 they had been able, with the aid of the Attorney-General, the Bishop of Exeter, and Sir William Boyd, to draft Statutes which were sealed by the seal of the Governors on June 21, and received the signature of Charles I. They remained the Statutes of the Foundation up to the year 1872, when the new scheme came into force.

One may pause here to note that on June 28, 1619,

Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, became a Governor, for the administering of the Trust which he had fought so hard to destroy. But on June 25, 1621, occurs the painful minute which, after much preamble, declares that—

"the said right honourable ffrancis Lord Verulam Viscount St Albans having on the third of May 1521 been by the High Court of parliament adjudged that from henceforth hee should for ever be uncapable of any office, place, or employment, etc., etc. . . . The Governors . . . for the causes aforesaid with one assent and consent remove the said Right Honourable Francis Lord Verulam . . . of and from the place of a Governor, etc., etc."

The same year which saw the sealing of the statutes contains the quaint order, more monastic in its spirit than even the rule of the monastery, since women had been buried within the Cloister in the days of the monks—that no woman or womankind should be buried in Charterhouse either in the Chapel itself or in the new burial ground, the plot of ground within the boundary wall on the north which had been consecrated in 1616 (adjoining Master's Garden).

Perhaps the most noticeable point in the Statutes of 1627 is the change in the definition of the status of the Brothers. We surmise that already the Governors had found some difficulty in excluding from the Hospital men who did not reach the social standard which had been intended. The Statute now ran as follows :—

"that none should be holden qualified for the place unless they be gentlemen by descent and in poverty ; souldiers that have borne arms by sea or land : merchants decayed by pyracy or shipwreck : or servants in houshold to the King and Queen's Majesty."

Upon this definition the Brothers continued to be elected until 1642, when the first note of the coming spirit of democracy is sounded and we find the following minute :—

"Upon hearing the words of the Letters Patent

CHAPEL TOWER FROM MASTER'S LODGE.
1512.

[June 22, 1611] touching the quality of the poor people to be chosen and finding the words to be in general for poor aged maimed or impotent people: It is therefore ordered and declared that the orders and statutes formerly made under common seal for limitation of what sort and qualities the poor men shall be, shall not be any rule of limitation to the Governors for choosing of pensioners but that the direction given by the Letters patent be henceforth followed according to the true meaning thereof."

In other words, the Governors fell back upon the general terms employed in the Letters Patent of 1611, ignoring and setting aside the Constitution of the Brotherhood as decided on by the first Governors in 1613, which had been emphasised and sanctioned by the Statutes of 1627, which had received the Royal assent. The latter fact, indeed, was not likely to carry much weight, but far otherwise, in the turning year of 1642. It was, by the way, on this same afternoon of April 21, 1642, that the committee decided what to do with the dripping.

It is convenient at this point to insert, for ease of comparison, the qualifications of the Brotherhood as defined under the scheme of 1872, approved by the Charity Commissioners.

"The Poor Brothers shall be deserving men of good character, widowers or unmarried, in decayed circumstances, being or having been officers in the Army or Navy, Clergymen, Merchants, or persons engaged in trading, professional, agricultural, or other similar occupations, who have become reduced by misfortune or accident without their own wilful default, and who shall be not less than sixty years of age at the time of appointment, unless in any special case the Governors shall see fit to relax the restriction as to age in favour of a candidate otherwise duly qualified, who may have become incapacitated by illness, accident, or infirmity from exerting himself for his own maintenance. *Provided* that no person who shall be blind or helpless from infirmity of mind or body shall be eligible for appointment.

"No person shall be eligible for appointment as a

Poor Brother, or shall be capable of retaining such appointment who shall be or become possessed of or entitled to the clear yearly income of £60 * or property of that annual value."

The minute-books give us no means of judging what effect the decision of the Governors, in 1642, had upon the character of the Foundation for the next eighteen years till the Restoration. No doubt the "Captains" whose names we now read were of a slightly different type. The Captains who came to Charterhouse doubtless now wore, of their own choice, sad-coloured vesture and featherless hats. The men of Cadiz and of the Armada had ceased from troubling. The soldiers of Gustavus were at rest. The new Captains and Lieutenants were doubtless those who had fought at Edgehill and Marston Moor, at Newbury and Naseby, and, later, at Dunbar and Worcester, or who had served at sea under the flag of Blake or Monk. For the present, at any rate, their interests were as carefully guarded as those of their forerunners. But the times were out of joint, and evil days were to depress the Brotherhood for a season.

The Chairman of the Governors, William Laud (every Archbishop of Canterbury since 1611 has filled that post, except between 1645 and 1660, when all bishops were got rid of from the board) was not present at that assembly. He had been in the Tower since March 1 of the previous year. But he presently nominates a Gownboy, and there is evidence that the order book must have been taken to him in the Tower, since one order of Nov. 22, 1642, bears his unmistakable autograph. But after that date, till his death on Tower Hill in January, 1645, he does not seem to have been allowed any further share in the government of Charterhouse. This is not hard to explain, for we find in 1643 that Parliament itself stepped in and took in hand some of the internal affairs of the place. On Jan. 25 of that year the Schoolmaster, Robert Brooke, was expelled as a sequel to a resolution by a Committee of the House of

* Since raised to £100.

Commons, who had sequestered him for "certen misdemeanors."

Brooke's misdemeanour was his avowed adherence to the Royalist cause, and his having impressed his views upon his pupils, two of whom were the poets Richard Crashaw and Richard Lovelace. A month or two later, March 7, 1643, we find that Daniel Tuttevill, the Preacher, is expelled by an order of the House of Commons, his place being filled by a divine named Thomas Foxley. The organist suffered a like fate, and his office seems to have been for the present suppressed. We read, too, presently, of a Brother expelled for having joined the King against the Parliament. These steps are reflected in the names of the Governors who gradually took the place of those of the earlier Royalist type. Laud perished in 1645. Before the end of the year, Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, and John Williams, Archbishop of York, were removed for "certain causes known" (this became the formula); while William Juxon, Bishop of London, on the plea of infirmity, though he presently hunted the best pack of hounds in England (so says the enthusiastic Whitelocke), had resigned, and no bishops remained upon the board. Sir John Finch, Lord Chief Justice, had been removed as early as 1641. The empty places were filled by men of the Parliamentary party. Manchester and Lord Howard of Escricke joined the board, from which both of them were themselves to be removed when the rift between themselves and Cromwell had grown deep. One by one all or most of the moderates were removed, resigned or died. The names of Essex, Oliver St. John, John Selden, William Lenthall (speaker of the Long Parliament), Sir Harry Vane, Lord Fairfax, and Bulstrode Whitelocke represent clearly enough the older Parliamentary party. But after 1550 we read the names of John Bradshaw, the regicide—I cannot find that he ever attended a meeting or took any share in administering his trust—Oliver Cromwell, Charles Fleetwood, Sir Arthur Heselrigge (so spelt by him in the book), General Philip Skippon, and Protector Richard Cromwell—truly an historical document this minute-book of ours.

To return to 1645. The miseries of the Civil War had already gone far to ruin many a farmer, and the necessities of life had, as always, risen in proportion. A deficit of £1500 was recorded in the funds of the Hospital. The reserve chest was called upon for £500, and the salaries of officers and servants were diminished all round. The diet of the Brothers and Scholars was also greatly reduced—more days of abstinence were inserted, and all feast days abolished, save that of Dec. 12, Founder's Day. These measures perhaps met the immediate pressure, but it is clear that for many years the Foundation suffered severely.

It would seem, too, that as the stress of the situation between King and Parliament grew fiercer, the Governors fell away, for a year or two, from the keen interest which they have at all other times shown. For two years, from May, 1648 to April, 1650, there are no Governors' assemblies recorded, but after the death of the King they occur again with frequency. In 1650 we find that Parliament once more takes the affairs of Charterhouse into view and provides for its management, with the following resolution which I find entered in the minute-book :—

" Die Mercurii 17 Aprilis 1650. Resolved by the Parliament that such of the present Governors of Sutton's Hospital all who have subscribed the Engagement or the major part of them doe proceed on in all the business of the Hospitall untill the Parliament takes further order.

" Hen Scobell,
" Chi[s] Parliament."

That same winter, on Dec. 9, 1650, his Excellency Oliver Cromwell, " Captain Generall of ye forces raised by Parliament," is made a Governor in place of the Earl of Manchester removed. He attended in all six meetings during the two and a half years in which he remained a Governor. None of these meetings had in them anything outside of the ordinary routine of business except that, at

* One of the iron-bound chests in which the early Governors kept their ready cash is now in Charterhouse Museum. It has always been traditionally known as Thomas Sutton's chest.

the meeting of Jan. 19, 1652, the Governors passed a stringently-worded order that any Brother proved guilty of drunkenness should lose his position—a provision which reminds us that Cavalier and Roundhead must have still possessed something in common. On none of these occasions did Oliver sign the book—one remembers his growing hatred of writing in any shape. But once Oliver Cromwell came down to Charterhouse perhaps in wrath. He was not a member of the Standing Committee, and yet on this occasion he attended one of its meetings. It is easy to see the reason why, for on that date occurs the following entry in the minutes of Committee.

"Oct. 8, 1651. Present William Lenthall, Oliver Cromwell, Sergeant Glyn, Sir Henry Vane, John Selden, John Gurdon. Wee the said committee doe likewise think fitt that the Arms of the late King standing above the Gates and in several other places of the said Hospitall be forthwith pulled down and defaced and that the Arms of the Commonwealth be putt up in the same places at the Costs and Charges of the said Hospitall."

This time we find Oliver Cromwell's signature in the book.* It would seem indeed that the Governors had been meeting in the Governors' Room with the Royal Arms above their heads in the Great Fireplace, and Oliver, who had attended a full Governors' meeting, had not failed to notice the incongruity. The order was doubtless obeyed, but I am inclined to believe that the offending panel was preserved by some official and replaced at the Restoration, and that we look to-day on the very panel which excited the wrath of the Captain-General.†

When Cromwell became Protector he resigned his place as Governor, recommending General Philip Skippon as his successor. Skippon was duly elected. It is easy to see why Oliver resigned. Apart from the heavy preoccupations which more and more beset him, he would

* But after careful comparison of the signature with those in the British Museum I find it hard to reconcile them, and I am doubtful if Oliver wrote it. It may have been added by the chairman or clerk as a necessary evidence of Oliver's wish and attendance.

† The arms are of James I.

have found himself, when he came to Charterhouse, sitting at the same table with Vane and St. John, Lenthall and Heselrigge, and others—men who were now avowedly unfriendly to his action and policy. It would have been courting difficult situations on a field where he would have had no advantage of position over them. But he did not forget Charterhouse, nor yet his own methods of handling affairs. For in the following year he seems to have sent in a request—we can guess what sort of form it would have taken—that the Governors should elect as a Gownboy one John Sharwell, son of Mary Sharwell, a widow.

We can read between the lines of a memorandum signed by Sir Harry Vane, Oliver St. John, and Lord Essex on behalf of the Governors—the date is June 5, 1654—in which, after a short preamble, they say that they have assured themselves of the fitness in all respects of John Sharwell to become a Poore Scholler * (Gownboy) on the recommendation of the Lord Protector. And they therefore advise that he should have the next vacancy after the admission of the persons already nominated and waiting. They guard themselves, however, by the following clause: "Provided that this shall not be prejudice or hinderance to said Governors of said Hosp[ll] in making of future Elections or be drawne into President [precedent]." John Sharwell's name appears in the admission list for June 5, 1654, and the Governors confirm the election by a minute of their assembly of June 19. But it is clear that this kind of reserved acceptance of his will was not to the taste of the Protector, for one year later is found a letter, quoted by Carlyle in his *Life and Letters of Cromwell*, in which he once more imposes his wish—this time practically

* By a strange error the latest historian of Charterhouse describes this as a request by Cromwell for the admission of "a young man described as a Poore Scholler as a Pensioner." The words "Poore Scholler" are, of course, the equivalent of a Gown boy or Foundation Scholar. The same writer speaks of a diplomatic answer returned by the Governors, in which they compliment the Protector on the care and humanity he had shown as a Governor. These words do not occur in any record accessible to me. They are not on the minutes.

a command—on the Governors. Nor does he even address them, but sends his order to Secretary Thurloe. The letter runs as follows :—

"To Mr. Secretary Thurloe,

"Whitehall, 28 July, 1655.

"You receive from me, this 28th instant, a petition from Margaret Beacham, desiring the admission of her son into the Charterhouse ; whose husband was employed one day in an important secret service, which he did effectually, to our own great benefit, and the Commonwealth's. I have wrote under it a common reference to the Commissioners ; but I mean a great deal more : That it shall be done without their debate or consideration of the matter. And so do you privately hint to ——. I have not the particular shining bauble for crowds to gaze at or kneel to, but —— To be short, I know how to deny Petitions and, whatever I think proper for outward form, to 'refer' to any officer or office, I expect that such my compliance with custom shall be looked upon as an indication of my will and pleasure to have the thing *done*. Thy true friend,

"Oliver P."

Whether this characteristic letter ever reached the Governors is unknown to us. The name of Beacham does not occur among the admissions of this period, and there is not a word in the orders or minutes of the Governors on the point. So far as anything is on record it was never before them. But it must be remembered that, if a discussion took place in which the Protector's proposal was negatived, such discussion (to judge by the case of James II presently to be noted) might have been intentionally suppressed from the minutes. And with this incident the Protector and Charterhouse part company for ever.

At the Restoration it was inevitable that the Parliamentary Governors who had displaced the Royalists should, in turn, yield place to others. One or two were removed, St. John, Skippon, Hesilrigge, and one or two others were

offered the opportunity of resigning and did so. Manchester Howard of Escrick, the Bishop of Ely, Lord Northumberland were restored to office, and a period which must have brought with it constant anxieties was at an end. In saying this, however, it is only just to remark that, save in the period of greatest dislocation from 1645–50, the management of the Foundation was as complete and painstaking as at any other period.

And from that time forward, with one or two exceptions, presently to be mentioned, Sutton's Hospital touches outside History only through the great historical names which appear on the list of its Governors, or through the distinction of its Pensioners or of its Scholars. Here are the exceptions. On June 24, 1685, we read the following :—

"Whereas James Duke of Monmouth, a Governor of this Hospital stands convicted and attainted of treason by Parliament by means whereof he is becom uncapable to holde the same place, wee doo therefore according to the power given us by the letters patent of the foundation of this Hospitall nominate the Right Honourable Lawrence Earl of Rochester Lord High Treasurer to be and continue one of the Governors of the Hospital in his stead," etc., etc.

The attainder had been passed on June 21, and this order of the Governors was issued three weeks before the battle of Sedgmoor. There is a tradition at Charterhouse that some of the portraits in the Master's Lodge, which include those of Monmouth, Charles I, Buckingham, and Talbot, were the property of Anne Scott, Duchess of Buccleugh, Monmouth's ill-used wife, and that she left them in the care of the Master, William Erskine, her friend. The pictures have been known, one cannot say how long, as the Monmouth pictures.

Once more, and for the last time, in 1687, when the Stuart dynasty was nearing its end, Charterhouse was destined to make History.

It came indeed strangely near to making it in that particular shape in which the seven bishops actually made

THE GREAT CHAMBER (GOVERNORS' ROOM). 1565–70.

it a twelvemonth later. James II nominated, and desired the Assembly of Governors to elect on his nomination to the Brotherhood, one Andrew Popham, a Romanist. The minute of the assembly of Jan. 17 in that year runs as follows :—

"Whereas his Māty by his two *Lords* hath nominated and appointed Andrew Popham Gent to be a pensōner in this Hospitall in his Mātys . . . in wich two there is a Clause that his Māty is gratiously disposed to dispense with the sending any oath or oathes unto the sayd Andrew Popham or requiring of him any subscriptōn or recognitōn or other Act or Acts in conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England as the same is now established wee are of opinion that for the present that the admission of the sayd Andrew Popham bee suspended until wee shall have considered of an applicatōn to his Māty therein."

The minute, of course, gives no clue to the discussion or incidents which preceded the resolution. But Macaulay, in his History, makes use of a publication, *An Account of the Late Proceedings at Charterhouse*, published in 1689, the year after the flight of James. That account, and consequently Macaulay's description of the incident, can be shown to be inaccurate in several points. On the other hand, some of its details could only have been supplied by some one who was present, and they bear the impress of truth. The question was introduced by the Master, Thomas Burnett, the man of the quiet face, whose beautiful portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller hangs to-day in the Master's Lodge. He urged that the election of a Romanist was beyond their powers and contrary to their constitution as fixed by Act of Parliament.* "What is that to the purpose?" asked a courtier (not identified) who was a Governor. The old Duke of Ormond, who was attending one of the last of his Governors' Assemblies, replied, "I

* In 1623 or 1624 the Governors had applied for an Act of Parliament which, as we learn by a minute of 1624, had for some unknown reason miscarried. The Bill was duly obtained in March, 1627 (Old Style), confirming the Foundation.

think it is very much to the purpose. An Act of Parliament," continued the Patriarch of the Cavalier party, " is in my judgment no light thing." Chancellor Jeffreys, the King's worst adviser, was sitting that day at the table in the Governors' Room, and so were one or two others who are likely to have voted with him. But that day and in that room the brutal Chancellor's voice was no more than any other man's. When the majority voted against the admission of the King's nominee, Jeffreys rose in fury and walked out of the Governors' Room,* followed by others of the minority, so that—says Macaulay, following " the account "—there was no quorum left, and no formal reply could be made to the mandate. Here, however, Macaulay seems to be in error. The minutes of the day show that the Popham question stood early in the agenda paper, and that other business was transacted after it. Strange to say, the minutes of the next meeting of Feb. 2 are omitted, perhaps intentionally. But on June 24 occurs a brief minute that a copy of the letter to the King, now drawn up, be forwarded by the Registrar to Lord Middleton, Chief Secretary of the State.

London rang with the incident for some months. Jeffreys swore—he could swear, it is said—vengeance and talked of prosecuting the Governors in the King's Bench. But James, purblind as he was, with a double measure of that purblindness which always made a Stuart unable to see the simplest signs of the times, yet would seem to have felt that a body of Governors which numbered in its ranks the names of Ormond and Danby and others to whom his throne had owed so much, and who, moreover, were armed with a constitution sanctioned by his own father, Charles I, was an ill body to prosecute. At any rate, before James had time to follow the advice of Jeffreys, if ever he meant to do so, he had other things to think of. No more is heard of Andrew Popham. It may be mentioned here that every Sovereign since James I, as well as the Protector, has been by accepted tradition—

* Jeffreys never again walked up the Great Staircase to a Governors' meeting.

there is no statute on the point—a Governor of Charterhouse, and it has also been the tradition to place the Royal Consorts upon the roll, but Royalties do not take any part in the administration of the Foundation. On no occasion, save in the instance just recorded, has it been necessary for the Governors to resist the Royal wish in any particular.

From 1611 to 1911 more than 2,000 Brothers have entered the Foundation. The House has sheltered many men who have done good and even distinguished work in life before the evening came, but the fact, once before mentioned, that no record is preserved in our books of the antecedents of the nominees, has been unfortunate, and it deprives us of a great deal of knowledge which would be interesting. We find in the *Dictionary of National Biography* only a few records. But entry into that Valhalla is not the final verdict. One may quote, however, the well-known names which reappear in every history of Charterhouse. Omitting the earliest Brothers with whom we have already dealt, the name of Elkanah Settle (1648 to 1724) comes earliest upon the list. It might be hard in these days to collect a score of men who had ever read a line of his poetry. Yet in his day it was fiercely debated, says Wood, at the universities whether he or Dryden were the greater poet, the younger generation inclining to Settle. But Settle's success—Betterton took the leading part in some of his plays, *Cambyses*, for example, now forgotten—was not wholly one of merit. Politics and poetry were a common, though an impossible, mixture in those days, and Rochester and his party set up Settle against Dryden only to drop him when they had done with him. Dryden was unwise enough to give him a place as Doeg in his *Absalom and Achitophel*. But he made a shrewd prophecy when he foretold that his rival would one day be writing plays for Bartholomew Fair. The forecast came true almost to the letter. Poor Settle, after holding the post—it is said he was the last to hold it—of "City Poet," is found writing love ballads and poesies

for maid servants at half a crown the poem, and presently he has to act the part at a show of a dragon, in a suit of green leather. Then at last some one takes pity on the old man of letters, rescues him from his dragon, and nominates him to Charterhouse, where he died a year or two later (Feb. 12, 1723).

Alexander Macbean (d. 1784), who had helped Dr. Johnson as his amanuensis, and had some literary ability of his own, ended his days here. And so would, if he had not been expelled for disobedience, Zachariah Williams, who comes within the circle of Johnson as father of that Miss Anna Williams who, when she lived in Bolt Court, so often shared a cup of tea—say, rather, seventeen cups of tea—with the great doctor. At the same time the Hospital gave shelter to Stephen Gray, who is universally recognised as one of the chief pioneers of electricity.* He was made a Fellow of the Royal Society while he was a Brother of Charterhouse. In recent times, Madison Morton, who as the author of *Box and Cox* has given the world more harmless merriment than falls to the lot of most men, Charles Macfarlane (d. 1858), and Francis Espinasse, the friend of Thomas Carlyle, and himself a man of note in his day, have been amongst the Brothers.

I have already said that in the early days of the Hospital the condition of comfort was, judged by the standard of our own day, not high. But judged by the standard of its own day it was probably in due relation to that which prevailed outside. The Brothers looked after themselves or had a claim on the services of a very limited number of men servants in their ancient quarters, which had been constructed within the fine old monastery barns. It was not till 1796 that "nurses" were provided to attend

* Stephen Gray demonstrated before the Royal Society his great invention. And in the Courts of Charterhouse he set up wooden poles carrying silk thread (isolated of course) which successfully transmitted the current. He had indeed proved his case. It was, however, merely a *succés d'estime*. Many years were to pass before his discovery was taken up in practical shape. Possibly the old scientist's character, "particular and unamiable," did not assist him. Yet it is certain that he initiated the system which has changed the social conditions of the earth.

to the wants of the Brothers. The duties of these nurses correspond to those of the "bedmakers" of an Oxford or Cambridge College. So, too, it was left to recent times to provide the services of trained matron and nursing-sister or sisters in time of sickness. But all along the course of the three centuries which have passed since the foundation, the position of the Brothers has been steadily improved, as the records of the Order Book prove. The pension and allowances have been from time to time augmented. The original pension was £5 per annum without further allowance. The last increase, in 1909, brought it to £36 per annum with an extra allowance of 35 shillings per week during the four weeks of summer holiday, or £43 in all, with allowances of coal and light. The diet has also undergone great improvement. In 1914 the pension has been increased to £40, or £47 in all.* But undoubtedly the changes which most affected the conditions of living for the better were those which took place from the year 1826 to the year 1842 and onwards. These changes were, by common consent, due to the energy and capacity of William Hale, who was Preacher of the Hospital from 1823 to 1841, and became Master in 1842. The old Brothers' quarters were ordered to be presently pulled down, and gave place to the two new courts known as the Pensioners' Court and the Preacher's Court. The earlier buildings had lain along the west side of what is now Preacher's Court, and at the northern end of the old wing a continuation had run diagonally across from south-west to north-east. In 1826 three sides of the Pensioners' Court, giving twenty-eight sets of apartments, were commenced. In 1827 the fourth side was begun, and in the year 1828, the order was given for the building of the east wing of the Preacher's Court. This included a house for the Preacher, who hitherto had lived outside, and there is no doubt that this departure, which was entirely due to the advice of Archdeacon Hale, very largely affected the

* In 1919 the Governors, with the consent of the Charity Commissioners, raised the total sum of pension and allowances provisionally to £70 10*s*.

well-being of the Hospital. In 1829 the order was given to rebuild the west wing of the Preacher's Court (the old quarters), but the work was suspended till 1839. By 1840 the whole of the two new courts had been completed. The life of the Brothers now followed very much the lines of life in a college of Oxford or Cambridge, Each Brother lives in his own room, which has in it a recess for a bed; there are, however, a few sets of two rooms to each Brother. These rooms open on to a common staircase—there are sixteen staircases in all—which are attended to by nurses. A certain number of rooms are set aside as an infirmary for the very infirm or sick, but each brother is still nursed in his own separate room and not in one general ward. In other respects, as well as in the arrangements of the living rooms, the life has its resemblances to that of college. Regulations require each Brother to attend chapel either in the morning (9.30) or evening (6.0 in winter, 7.0 in summer) at choice,* and at 11.0 a.m. on Sunday, and to attend daily dinner in Hall (2 p.m.). He can always obtain leave of absence for any reasonable purpose. He is free to go where he will up to 11 p.m., or by an easy process of extension, up to 12 p.m. He has one month of holiday (July) in each year with full allowance beyond his pension. It is in the discretion of the Master to grant him a further extension up to six weeks beyond the holiday month with a minor allowance; and further leave at times without that allowance. Each Brother receives four and a quarter tons of coal a year, with candles. He has also the services of a resident medical officer, matron, and nursing sister. He is given chair, table, fender, bed, carpet, curtains for his room, which, however, is not otherwise furnished, as it is found that Brothers greatly prefer to bring in some furniture of their own, and also they naturally prefer some exercise of their own taste in their surroundings. Visitors are allowed up to 10 p.m. A Brother of Charterhouse has a vote for Finsbury parliamentary district.

If any one imagines that all Brothers are at all times

* Up to 1840 the regulations required two attendances daily at chapel.

satisfied, and that no one ever grumbles, he must also imagine that the Governors of Sutton Hospital have secured a succession of angels rather than of old gentlemen. The Brotherhood of Charterhouse is not, any more than any other assemblage of similar human beings, free from its percentage of men who estimate their privileges not from the point of view of what has been given to them, but rather of what has not. Nor can it be supposed that in a gathering of sixty to eighty men there should be absent all examples of men who are not worthy of their place, or who find the very small amount of discipline indicated by a chapel, a hall, and a return home at eleven or twelve at night, an irksome degree of restriction. It is impossible to read through the many volumes of minutes and orders since 1614 without some amusement. History—it is very small history, to be sure—repeats itself over and over again. There are still, as in 1620, in each decade the men here and there who believe, or say they do, that the butler metaphorically keeps a squirt for watering the beer. The Governors of to-day are called upon to do much the same set of duties as those which claimed the attention of Lord Bacon, William Laud, and Oliver Cromwell, of Walpole and Rockingham, of Pitt and Fox, of Peel and Wellington, of Palmerston and Russell. The interests, some very great, some very small, which have to be guarded are much the same. The complaints and appeals have a strong family likeness. And the rather too common black sheep of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is of much the same colour as his much rarer counterpart in the nineteenth and twentieth. And here it should be said that the proportion of the unworthy to the worthy is very small. The vast majority live honourable and self-respecting lives, and Sutton's intention is well fulfilled in them. For three hundred years his Hospital has helped to meet a great national need, without ever receiving or asking for one penny of public money. The particular class for which it provides is one for whom poverty has very special sorrows. Sutton's Hospital may be regarded as a civil resident pension for gentlemen of fallen fortune,

for whom the State, in the nature of things, cannot be expected to provide either pension or maintenance. It has done much in its three hundred years of existence, and it is to be deplored that since 1880, owing to the depreciation in land values—much of the endowment depending on agricultural rents—the number of Brothers, fixed by Sutton at eighty, has sunk to sixty, and has at one time been as low as fifty-four. Owing to a reputation, which has clung to it from the beginning, of very great wealth, it has never since 1611 received any legacy of importance, probably a unique instance in the history of such institutions. If one of those splendid gifts or legacies which from time to time fall to institutions and movements designed for the relief of distress and the bettering of the lot of mankind should one day come the way of Charterhouse, it would be possible, once more, to give the benefits of the Hospital to the full number of eighty, and at the same time increase the material comfort of the Brothers in various particulars. The giver would have, through the evidence of the last three hundred years, the knowledge that his gift would be well employed in the relief of a form of distress which is not the least acute among the many forms of suffering which human beings can be called upon to bear.

COSTUME OF EARLY GOWNBOYS.

A BROTHER.

CHAPTER XXII

THE SCHOOL

SUTTON'S double foundation was the outcome in part of the man's own personality and in part of the spirit of the age in which he lived. The Brotherhood represents the first of these two forces, begotten as it was of Sutton's own sympathies for the type of men with whose lives and distresses his own life had brought him in touch, while the School Foundation was typical of that faith in education which the Renaissance had everywhere brought with it, and which in England, especially in the Post-Reformation days of the period, showed itself in the frequent foundations of Grammar Schools and Colleges.

If in my previous chapter I have at all succeeded in showing that Sutton's first set of Governors knew and rightly interpreted his intentions with regard to the social class from whom his Brothers were to be selected, then I need hardly go over the same ground to show that his intentions with regard to the social status of his Foundation Scholars, "Gownboys," must have been of like texture. It must at least be conceded that he must have meant that both sides of his Foundation should be of one caste. He placed them both within the same walls, to be selected by the same Governors, to worship in the same chapel, to be ruled by the same officers, served by the same servants, fed from the same kitchen, and even to be tended, at first, by the same matron. And though experience presently showed the necessity for some kind of separation between the Brothers and the Schoolboys, yet they were essentially one Foundation.

At their very first assembly, June 30, 1613, the Governors, it will be remembered, had resolved as follows :—

" Item. No children to be placed there whose parents have any estate of lands to leave unto them but onlie the children of poore men that want meanes to bringe them up."

Though this order was clearly intended to exclude the son of any man of assured estate or property, it was as clearly not intended to exclude the sons of professional men—soldiers, sailors, clergy, doctors, lawyers, etc.—the straitness of whose means still made them " poore men " though not of the indigent poor. And this is shown by the fact that the very first list of Gownboys elected on July 19, 1614, includes boys whose fathers wrote " esquire " or " gent " after their names. The first Gownboy of all is an instructive case. James Mullens was elected alone at the first assembly, June 30, 1613, and was the son of a surgeon who either then or later was Surgeon to St. Bartholomew's and to St. Thomas' Hospitals. But in 1621 the Governors resolve that James Mullens is to cease to be a Gownboy if it be true that his father is possessed of £400 a year. In short, the qualification was very much that which prevailed in similar foundations in other great schools. It has been often urged that Charterhouse is an instance where the intention of the Founder has been perverted from the first, and the trust applied to a class for whom it was not meant. And the words " poore scholler " " poore men " are quoted in proof of this perversion. It must not be forgotten that the very body of men who created those phrases at their first assembly gave us an object lesson in their own interpretation of their phrases by electing at that same assembly James Mullens, the son of a surgeon of evident capacity, though of small income, as they believed.* We have, indeed, to remind ourselves that the word " poore " was

* The increase of the father's income to £400 a year may, of course, have occurred—it probably did—some years after his son's nomination.

used at that date in a broader, and perhaps a truer, sense than that which it has come to have to-day.

The School Foundation of Charterhouse was never intended by its Founder for the " indigent poor "—as we now understand that phrase, nor for the poor of the working classes, nor of the artisan classes, but rather for the " poore " of quite a different social rank, namely, of a rank corresponding to that whose needs were provided for in Sutton's Foundation for the " poore Brothers."

It may be well, at this point, to give a few typical cases of Gownboys nominated in the years immediately following the first foundation.* The instances in which we know the parentage of early Gownboys are few, and even here our knowledge is accidental, and from external sources, as no record was kept in the warrant books or order books. Danyell Colbye (1614) is son of Thomas Collbye, Esq.—the title of Esquire still having a definite social value in that day. Joseph Henshawe (1624), afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, was son of Thomas Henshawe, Solicitor-General of Ireland. Anthony Lawe (1614) was nephew of John Lawe, Sutton's executor, and one of the first Governors. Richard White (1619), son of Sir Richard White, Knighte. Robert Bickerton (1626), son of a servant of the Prince (Charles). Richard Crashaw (spelt Crosshow) the poet, 1631, son of William Crashaw, a clergyman. And in 1628, Thomas Lovelace, son of Sir William Lovelace, Knight, of an old Kentish family, was nominated on the warrant of Charles I. Sir William, of Lovelace-Bethersden, had been killed that year at the siege of Grolle in Holland, " after about 30 years in the warres, and left his lady rich only in great store of Children." Thomas never came to Gownboys, being, it would seem, over age. His brother, Colonel Richard Lovelace, the poet, and author of *To Althea from Prison*, was later in the school as an oppidan.

It is not necessary to quote further from this early list. Mr. Bower Marsh, in his admirable preface to his list of *Alumni Carthusiani*, says with regard to the system of

* These cases are quoted from *Alumni Carthusiani*.

nominations from 1613 to its abolition in 1872: "In examining at the same time the grounds on which nominations have been sought for, and the probable reasons for which they have been granted, the decision would seem broadly to lie between the claims of poverty and of influence, and, in general, the award to have been carried away by what may be termed influential poverty." He quotes the evidence of Archdeacon Hale before the Commission of 1862: "I should say persons exceedingly well connected but really poor." This Commission and evidence, of course, referred to Gownboys of Archdeacon Hale's period. My own days in Gownboys fell within the nine years from 1856 to 1864, and I should endorse the statement of Archdeacon Hale. There were boys who were closely connected with titled families, a few near relations of the Governors themselves, sons of officers, clergymen, etc. But I cannot remember any of whom it could be said that, so far as the money qualification went, they were unfit to receive the benefits of the Foundation. And I may say at once, after thirty-three years' experience of the School since the system of competitive scholarships has been introduced, that those scholarships now fall to the sons of men whose average income is greatly in excess of that which was possessed by the parents of the nominated Gownboys. The reason is obvious. Few boys of under fourteen could have a first-rate chance of obtaining an open scholarship on any of the great Public School Foundations unless their parents have been in a position to provide them, for some years previously, with an expensive education at a preparatory school. The clause which gives the Governing Body the right to withhold one of these scholarships, if a parent appears to be too well-to-do to justify his accepting the Foundation benefit, does not effectively meet the case. The disappearance of the nomination system has, no doubt, played doubly into the hands of those who have, rather than of those who need. That abuses under the old system must have occurred within the 260 years during which it lasted is a probability which we may well admit, but, so far as can be judged,

the probability is even greater, that in the vast majority of cases Sutton's bounty reached the men for whom he meant it, and to whom it was a Godsend in educating their children in their own station of life.

But however the early Governors acted with regard to the choice of "poore schollers," their provision for the future of their Gownboys on their exit from the School was marked by a bold common sense which was not, however, destined to survive. The boy who was by acquirements and promise fit for the University, and for the professions to which it was an entrance, was to be sent there with an exhibition. But the boy who was "unfitt for learning," or "less apt for learning than some are," was to be sent out to a different career. He was to be "apprenticed" to a solicitor's office, to a business or trade, or even to a handicraft.* They were alive to the fact that, even in higher social ranks, a large number of individuals are born who have no bent or fitness for brain work, or even clerk's work, but were designed by nature for handwork, or a craft of some kind. However, when a Gownboy in the first days had made his entry, he was to go out by the door which seemed to lead him to his fittest work in life. And so one Gownboy would go out to end his life, via the University, as a bishop or a judge, while his friend, who had sat beside him in Gownboy Writing School or Hall, went out to make saddlery. It sounds very pathetic. But it was less pathetic after all, perhaps, than the occasional fate of a man who was tempted out of his true path by the high rewards that presently came to be offered. For the University Exhibitions which had begun at £20 had, by the end of the London days, become £80 for three years, and £100 for the fourth, with even a further prolongation. It is true that the lump sum given to an "apprentice," *i.e.* the sum which might be given to an outgoing Gownboy who was to become a solicitor, a

* It must be remembered that the word "apprenticeship" was used in that day not merely with regard to trade or handicraft, but also with regard to clerkships, and the like. At the abolition of the apprentice system the word "articled" took its place in the latter instances.

soldier, a man of business, had risen to £100. But the University prize loomed larger still for the parent whose mind was not clear as to his son's profession. The mischief would have been less if a high standard had been maintained. But towards the end the test was very merciful. Many an exhibitioner got through—the test was not competitive, but to qualify—with barely enough learning to get a pass degree. The change of system since 1872, by which a limited number only of University Exhibitions are given by competition, has made an improvement in that respect.

From the very first the Governors empowered the schoolmaster (headmaster) and the usher (second master)—the office was abolished in 1872—to take pupils other than Gownboys. Without this provision it is doubtful if the School could have obtained the reputation which was soon to belong to it. For the Governors, at no time before 1872, recognised the existence of any masters save these two. But the salary of the schoolmaster was £20 per annum and that of the usher was £10. It was not till 1658 that the headmaster's salary was raised to £100 per annum. And multiply as we may to bring these salaries into terms of modern money, we cannot obtain from them a result which shall make the wage of a headmaster of that day equal to the wage of many an assistant master of to-day in the earliest stages of his career. The reinforcement, therefore, of their slender salary by the right to take boarders and day-boys was not merely a blessing to those men who shaped the first famous Carthusians, but it was of great value to the School by enabling the Governors to secure a better type of man for the post. And, furthermore, it freed the schoolmaster and usher from an impossible position. Without that concession they would have been called upon—two men alone—to teach forty boys ranging from the age of ten to the age of eighteen—a school in which effective grading by age or ability was impossible. The addition of two or three assistant masters, paid out of the school fees of the non-Gownboys, alone made it possible. The schoolmaster

and usher were further hampered by the untaught condition of many of the nominees, who were pitchforked into the Foundation in such a stage of ignorance as to make the School unworkable. In the statutes of 1627, therefore, the clause appears :—

" Nor shall any be admitted but such as the Schoolmaster shall find and approve to be well entred in Learning answerable to his age at the time of his admittance."

The difficulty did not disappear, however. In 1653 the Governors, finding that the schoolmaster had rejected certain nominees, gave an order that they should be admitted and specially instructed—a condition which might have well driven the unhappy schoolmasters to despair. The " great damage and discouragement " which they suffered thereby was described in an order of the Governors in 1672, which ordained for the future an entrance examination.

But however great the disadvantages under which the early masters laboured from being called upon to develop the nucleus of the Foundation into a great School, it is certain that they came well through the trial. The School was already well established in its fame when Addison and Steele were members of it. It is to be regretted that the attitude of the Governors towards other than Gownboys, however right from their point of view, has made it impossible for us to trace or to describe the growth of the whole School as a corporate body. No complete list of masters, and no complete list of members of the School is found before 1800. The list of schoolmasters and ushers and of Gownboys alone is preserved among our records. And it follows from this that our list of distinguished Carthusians is a mutilated list. Many of the names of boarders and day-boys who reached distinction are probably quite unknown to us,* the names

* It is, for example, merely a happy accident which enables us to say that Richard, 7th Earl Fitzwilliam, was a Carthusian. In the Library of the Fitzwilliam Museum which he founded is a small pencil drawing of the statue of Marcus Aurelius, which was given in 1759 by Fitzwilliam, when a boy at Charterhouse, to Isaac Cookson of Newcastle.

only of a few of very special fame emerging for us. It is, however, plain to us, even on this imperfect evidence, that the non-Foundation portion of the School contributed its full share to the honours of the place from first to last. Thus Richard Crashaw (1613–1649) was a Gownboy, but Richard Lovelace (1618–1658) was an Oppidan. Isaac Barrow and Richard Steele (1672–1729) were Gownboys, but Joseph Addison (1672–1719) was an Oppidan. So, too, John Wesley (1703–1791); Sir William Blackstone (1723–1780); Lord Ellenborough (1750–1818); Baron Alderson (1787–1857); Bishop Conn of Shirlwall, the historian; General Sir Robert S. S. Baden-Powell were all Gownboys in the London Foundation. But Thomas Lovel Beddoes, the poet (1803–1849); George Grote, the historian (1794–1871); William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–1863, once in Penny's House, 26–28 Wilderness Row, and afterwards with Mrs. Boyes, No. 8, in the Square); John Leech (1817–1864, in Churton's House in the Square); Sir Charles Eastlake, P.R.A. (1793–1865); Sir Henry Havelock (1795–1857, in Stewart's House); and Lord Alverstone (in Saunderites) were all non-foundation boys.

The number of Oppidans before the early years of the nineteenth century was apparently never large. There is no reason to believe that the total numbers of the school ever exceeded a hundred much before that time, a fact that makes the list of distinguished Carthusians the more remarkable. It seems likely that many of the non-Foundation boys either boarded outside or were day-boys, for we find no trace of anything like a boarding-house in the earlier days of the School. An elevation map of the place by Sutton Nichols, of about the year 1750, shows that the usher lived in rooms above the house called "Gownboys," and certainly could have housed no boarders there; while the schoolmaster lived in a detached house to the west of the scholars' house which, if the scale is at all to be trusted, could have had little accommodation in it for boarders at that day. And, indeed, by an appeal to the Governors, made on June 6, 1773 by Dr. Samuel Berdmore, the headmaster, we learn that, since his appoint-

ment in 1769, he had at his own expense provided more room, but that the house only accommodated, and that with great difficulty and inconvenience, twenty-three boarders. He speaks of the straits he was put to if he had sickness in his own family, and suggests the raising of the roof of a building (we cannot identify this) in Chapel-Cloister, and the raising also of the roof of the building over the washhouse (this hardly can refer to Washhouse Court). He was granted the sum of £160 in answer to his appeal. Here we get at a means of estimating roughly the size of the School in 1769. There were forty Gownboys and twenty-three boarders in the Headmaster's House. At that time we do not know of any other house which took boarders. The number of day-boys is guesswork. But with the staff of a headmaster, an usher, an assistant usher, and a writing-master (the latter non-resident and intermittent), we cannot suppose the day-boys to have been very numerous. The total numbers must have been considerably under a hundred. They had, we imagine, risen in 1795, since in that year the Governors ordered that an annual return of the boarders in all the boarding-houses should be made. And the phrase implies an increase of boarding-houses, and therefore of boys. In 1805, at the end of the lease of the Physician, Dr. Shackleford, the Headmaster, Dr. Raine, was allowed to move out to his house, No. 29, Charterhouse Square. We know from Horwood's map of 1799 the very numbering of the houses in the Square, and we find that 29 was at the south-west corner at the entrance to Charterhouse Street (now Haynes Street), a singularly unsuitable position for a schoolhouse, one would have thought. Perhaps the Governors thought so too, since in 1807, at the death of Dr. Hulme, they transferred the Headmaster to his house in the Square. Dr. Raine died in 1811, and in the days of his successor, Dr. Russell, began the great increase in numbers of which I shall have to speak more in detail presently.

The Governors' transactions, which give us so scanty a knowledge of the housing of the boarders, are entirely

silent as to any matters concerned with their diet, maintenance, and manner of life. But it is reasonable to suppose that they would have been on the same scale as that of Gownboys. And for this we have some evidence at intervals. In the seventeenth century, and in a less degree in the eighteenth, the standard of comfort represents a Spartan simplicity, though perhaps not out of proportion to that which prevailed throughout Society, and in all public schools of the day. A Gownboy rose at 5 a.m., he had his breakfast at 8 a.m.—beer, bread, and cheese. His dinner seems to have been at one period 3 p.m., but afterwards at midday, with a supper of bread and cheese and beer at night. It is to the long intervals between meals that one may attribute the system of "Beverage," as it is called in the index of the Governors' minutes, whereby any boy could apply between dinner and supper at the butlery for a "hunk" of bread—called a bevor.* Tea and coffee in that day were luxuries unknown to Gownboys. John Wesley, whose schooldays lay between 1713 and 1720, tells us that at school he had little except bread, and not always enough of that. But the formal records of the account books give us rather a more liberal diet than that. It is, however, probable that John Wesley's picture of school life gives a generally correct impression of the hard fare of the day. I have already recorded that Gownboys had to sleep two in a bed till the year 1805, when, under Dr. Raine, who introduced many useful changes, they were given a bed apiece. By the aid of an extract from the Governors' order book, the reader will be able to suggest to his mind both what a Gownboy ate and drank and how he was clothed.

THE WEEKLY CHARDGES OF THE SCHOLLERS DYETT.

Every sixe Schollers to have att breakfast, in beere 1^{d} and in bread 1^{d} which cometh by the weeke to xiiij^{d}

Also sixe Schollers are to have the like proportion of bread and beere for their beavo^{s} in the afternoone xiiij^{d}

* This word was still in use in Suffolk in 1864—perhaps is so still—amongst labourers for the ten or eleven o'clock snack in the harvest-field.

Bread and beere for sixe Schollers xiiii meales att 1^{d} the peece every meale cometh by the weeke to vii^{s}
Beefe to vi Schollers for v^{d} meales iiij^{s} ij^{d}
Mutton Veale or Porke to vi Schollers for v^{d} meales v^{s} x^{d}
Frydaie Dynner vi Schollers to have in Furmaty iiii^{d} in butter iiii^{d} and in Fishe or Appelepyes iiii^{d} in all xii^{d}
Satterday att Dynner the like xii^{d}
Satterday Supper Furmaty iiii^{d} and butter iii^{d} in all vii^{d}

Decrements to the Schollers Dyett.

White and bay salte vi^{d} ob. by the weeke and for the whole year cometh to xxviij^{s} ii^{d}
Oatmeale for all the Schollers viij^{d} by the weekes and for the whole year xxxiiij^{s} viii^{d}
Candles xviii^{lb} a week for xxiiij weeks att iiii^{d} the pound vii^{li} iiii^{s}

Apparell and other Neccies for the Schollers.

For a gowne viz^{t} ii yardes di of broadcloth att ix^{s} vi^{d} the yarde xxiii^{s} ix^{d} bayes to lyne ytt iiii^{er} yardes att ii^{s} iiii^{d} the yard ix^{s} iiii^{d} one yard of russett Jane fustian for the back and pocketts ix^{d} and for makinge the same gowne ii^{s} iiii^{d}. In all xxxvi^{s} ii^{d}.

For a Somer suite viz^{t} vii yardes di of Fustian for the outside and to lyne the Skirts att ii^{s} ii^{d} the yard xvi^{s} iii^{d} two yards of white Jane to lyne the Dublett att ix^{d} the yard xviii^{d} buttons and silke xii^{d} straite canvas stiffeninge and Cotton for the sleeves xxii^{d} lyninge and pocketts for the hose ii^{s} i^{d} ii yardes of bayes for the hoase att xv^{d} the yard ii^{s} vi^{d} and for makinge the Dublett and hoase iiii^{s} iiii^{d}. In all xxix^{s} vi^{d}.

For a winter suite viz^{t} ii yardes di and di q^{e}ter of Fustian for the outside of the Dublett and to lyne the Skirtes att xix^{d} the yard iiii^{s} i^{d} ob. ii yardes of white Jane Fustian to lyne the Dublett att ix^{d} the yard xviii^{d}. Buttons and silke vii^{d} straite Canvas xiiii^{d} oyled Skinnes for lyinges and pocketts ii^{s} i^{d} making the Dublett and hoase iiii^{s} iiii^{d} for buttons and silke to the Jerkin vii^{d} and for makinge the Jerkin xx^{d}. In all xvii^{s} x^{d} ob.

Necessaryes to be yearely made and provided by the Schollers Taylor for every Scholler viz. five paire of Shooes att xx^{d} the p$\bar{r}$e viii. iiii^{d} iiii^{er} p$\bar{r}$e of Stockinges att xx^{d} the p$\bar{r}$e vi^{s} viii^{d} a hatt and band iiii^{s} garters girdles pointes and gloves xvi^{d}. In all xx^{s} iiii^{d}.

Other Necessaryes to bee provided bye the Steward and Schoolemaster viz^{t} for every Scholler three Shirtes in a yeare att iii^{s} the peece ix^{s}. Eighte bandes to every one viii^{s} and for Bookes paper Inck quilles and teachinge them to write and singe xi^{s} i^{d}. In all xxviii^{s} i^{d}.

MEMORAND. UPON THE FESTIVALL DAYES ENSEUINGE VIZ^{T}

Xpmas day^{e}, St Steven's daye, St. John's daye, Innocents daye, Neweyeare's day, Twelveth daye, Candlemas daye, Shrovesonday, Shrovetuesday, the Kinge's day, our Lady daye, Easter day, Easter Monday, Easter Tuesdaie, Midsomer daye, Michaelmas daye, All S^{ts} daye and the vth of November The U^{rs} table & every Messe of poore men Officers & Schollers shall exceed and bee allowed above the ordinary allowance as followeth viz^{l}. The U^{rs} Table att dynner ii^{s} v^{d} his attendants xii^{d}. The U^{rs} Table at Supper xii^{d} and his attendants vi^{d}. The pore men att Dynner xii^{d} and att Supper vi^{d}. And the Schollers att Dynner viii^{d} and att Supper vi^{d}.

The dress of a Gownboy, here indicated, underwent little important change for full two centuries. He wore a straight-cut "jerkin" or short jacket of black cloth, which could be buttoned up in front in cold weather, while its large collar (over which a white Eton collar was worn by under school) could also be turned up for effective protection. He wore a hat, but we have no record of the pattern of this, since it was abolished in 1805 in favour of caps, while trenchers for upper school were introduced at a later period. Knee breeches were worn, and these still prevailed in Russell's day—as, indeed, they did in outside society *—for Thackeray's drawing in his own set of illustrations to the *Newcomes*

* A caricature by Thackeray in Charterhouse Museum shows Dr. Russell teaching Euclid in knee-breeches.

shows this. I do not know at what exact date the knee-breeches were commuted to the less seemly trowser. The cloth gown * was of a very peculiar but picturesque cut, the sleeve, below the armhole, being prolonged into a long slender point, bound round at the end with strong thread. Low shoes completed the dress. Taking any period between 1614 and 1814, it is probable that Richard Crashaw, a Gownboy of the first year of the Foundation, differed little in appearance from Richard Steele (1684–89), John Wesley (1713–20), or Lord Ellenborough (1761–67), nor any one of these in a great degree, except below the knee, from the last Gownboy who wore the costume in 1872.

The internal history of a Public School is not often of a kind to produce many incidents of permanent interest. I can select but a few which may be worth recording. Our first Headmaster, Dr. Nicholas Gray, held office but for ten years, and retired to the Charterhouse living of Castle Camps on his marriage, which disqualified him for further service as Headmaster. Thence, taking again to schoolmastering, he became Headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School and later of Eton. The third on the list, Dr. William Middleton, in like manner reigned but two years, and retired to the living of Cold Norton. We find him promised the rich Charterhouse living of Balsham † in Cambridgeshire when it should fall vacant. But before a vacancy occurred times had changed. We find in 1641, when the complexion of the Assembly of Governors had become Parliamentarian, that certain questions had been administered to him and several times repeated. And on his utterly ignoring them the Governors take it as a wilful insult and cancel their promise in the same year that saw the expulsion of his successor, Robert Brooke, from the headmastership on account of his Royalist opinions, to which a tradition—which I am not able to trace—

* A gown is preserved in Charterhouse Museum.
† Balsham was then worth about £1600 a year.

adds the picturesque detail that he was in the habit of flogging any boy who didn't agree with him. His two pupils, Crashaw and Lovelace, apparently did agree. At the end of that century we naturally stop at the name of Dr. Thomas Walker,* who was Headmaster for no less than thirty-nine years, from 1679–1728. In his period come the names of Addison, Steele, and Wesley. His successor was Andrew Tooke (1728–1731), author of the *Pantheon*, a familiar school book in its day. In the middle of that century occurred an episode which throws light, perhaps, on the discipline of the School in that day, for it is hardly quite an isolated incident, though certainly by far the most striking. Under James Hotchkis, as Headmaster, Gownboys broke into a rebellion, headed by John Roberts, captain of the School, and his fellow Gownboy monitors. The matron's maid had offended them—we know not how. They proceeded to pour water over the maid and, going all in a body,—save seven Gownboys, who are mentioned by name—they broke the matron's windows, demanding the expulsion of the maid, and then ran "hollowing" on to Green, refusing to re-enter the House. The Master was summoned, and cut off all food supplies—and, though a few returned to food and duty, the great mass had to be sent home. They nearly all came back on Monday. Roberts was expelled. The monitors were degraded and all "received the correction of the School." So ended a mutiny which, strange to say, was repeated on Dec. 12, 1808, with very similar results.

As an illustration of the strained relations which might occur at times between the Master and the Schoolmaster under the somewhat difficult conditions, one may quote a very remarkable episode recorded in the year 1749. Dr. Nicholas Mann, the Master, suddenly inflicted a fine on the Headmaster, Dr. Eberhard Crusius, for defect in his duties. The latter, naturally resenting this, appealed to the Governors, whose position was not to be envied. They escaped from their dilemma on a technical issue,

* His gravestone is in the pavement of the Chapel a few paces distant from the Founder's Tomb.

ENTRANCE TO CHAPEL.

namely, that since the needed notice had not been given, the mulct could not be confirmed, but they added the rider that it was by no means evident that the condition of the School was due to the present Headmaster (who had succeeded Hotchkis). And indeed the subsequent career of Crusius—who was amongst our most efficient Headmasters, and who afterwards received the thanks of the Governors and an increase of salary—is not in favour of the Master's * view on that occasion.

The number of cases, however, during the century, in which Gownboys are reported to the Governors as having absented themselves for some days, or having gone out of bounds, seems to show that the very small staff had to deal with great difficulties and with conditions that made good discipline hard to maintain. And meanwhile London had been steadily creeping up to Charterhouse. The space between the city walls and ours, which in the days of the monastery had been sheer open field, and in the days of Sutton had been dotted along the line of Aldersgate Street with a few great houses, and elsewhere with blocks and incipient streets of tenements, was now fairly covering itself with buildings, while Goswell Street now prolonged itself past our east wall into Clerkenwell. The change was steadily advancing which, seventy years later, was to drive us from our old home to fresh woods and pastures new. But, before that day came, Charterhouse was to pass through the most notable period of its existence.

* The tablet in memory of this Master, *Nicolaus Mann olim magister nunc remistus pulvere*, is over the entrance door of the Chapel. The grave slab of Dr. Crusius lies a few yards away.

CHAPTER XXIII

RAINE—RUSSELL—THE MADRAS OR BELL SYSTEM, 1791–1872

THE last decade of the eighteenth century, and the first of the nineteenth, saw the School under the rule of one of its strongest Headmasters, Matthew Raine, who entered office in 1791. He was at once a great scholar and a capable administrator, and at the end of his twenty years of office a great advance had been made in the equipment of the School, both as to teaching and housing.

In the third year of his tenure, namely in 1794, we find the first mention of a boarding-house, which was afterwards destined to have a permanent name amongst Carthusians. By the ratebook * of the Square we find in that year that the Rev. James Stewart (also spelt Steward) paid rates for Rutland Court, and in the following year Dr. Raine did so, and from that time forward the house seems to have been used as a schoolhouse, though with great alterations and additions, passing through the hands of Chapman, Penny, Oliver Walford (in whose day it obtained the name of "Verites"), Elwyn, and Poynder, down to the date of the removal in 1872. Rutland House, it will be remembered, was the great house built by Lord North at the north-east corner of Charterhouse Square, adjoining the playground (once Great Cloister), who destined it for the home of Lady North when he should have ceased to be the owner of the mansion in Charterhouse. It had been sold to the Dukes of Rutland, under whom it obtained

* The name of Mrs. Anne Fisher occurs in the ratebook, but she was probably a "Dame" taking boarders for the School under Dr. Raine

the name of Rutland House, and passed thence into the hands of the Governors of Charterhouse, by whom, in 1872, it was sold to Merchant Taylors' Company.

In 1802 occurred another change which tells of enlarged ideas as to the needs of the School. In that year the Governors decided to build a large schoolroom (which came to be known as Big School) on the raised ground known as "Hill," probably caused, in the first instance, by the debris of the seven north cells of the Great Cloister. This building, with a classroom presently added at each end, and a large room known as "New School," which had become, in the writer's day, Fifth Form and Under Fifth room, and French room, was destroyed in 1872, and some of the stone courses and windows with names carved upon them are now set up in the cloisters at Godalming. Up to the year 1802 there had been no separate schoolroom, but the teaching had been done in Gownboy Writing Schoolroom (which would, in other houses, have been called Under Long Room), and apparently also in a room above, since the Governors now order the latter to be turned into a dormitory. Writing School, as it existed in 1802, was a very fine room. I have in an earlier chapter spoken of the magnificent ceiling with the coats of arms of the first Governors, wrought by the King's plasterer in the reign of James I. Huge square columns of oak (painted brown) supported this ceiling, while the walls were lined with the lockers and desks. The room had served for the teaching of every great Carthusian from 1614, and, strange to say, it was, in spite of the addition of "Big School," still to be used again as a classroom for the Sixth Form in the great pressure in Russell's days.

Other improvements in Gownboys are recorded in the orders of the Governors during Raine's Headmastership.* One incident of his day has already been touched upon. On

* A portrait of Dr. Raine, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, hangs on the landing of the Master's Lodge. The original chalk sketch for the head, by Lawrence, is at Godalming. Dr. Raine's monument, subscribed for by Carthusians, by Flaxman, is on the south wall of the Chapel, and the letters M.R on the pavement below mark his resting-place.

Founder's Day, in 1808, Gownboys broke into open rebellion. The cause of this was the issue of an order forbidding Gownboys to entertain guests in Hall on Founder's Day, which practice had proved a source of disorder. Gownboys proceeded to break the windows of the matron, the Headmaster, and the Master, and when the latter appeared to overawe the mutineers, they received him with brickbats and other contumelious missiles. The upshot was, nevertheless, in favour of the officers mentioned, since, after the expulsion of the ringleader, with other proportionate punishment to his chief supporters, and " the correction of the School " all round, Gownboys accepted the inevitable and law and order reigned once more. At the death of Dr. Raine, Dr. John Russell, who had been second master for some years, succeeded. It is noticeable that the Governors, before electing him, had to abolish the regulation which forbade them to elect a Headmaster under the age of twenty-seven. Russell had not reached that age.

John Russell was a man of exceptional vigour and capacity, a born reformer, and possessed of imagination and of original ideas. Perhaps he may have lacked somewhat that intimate knowledge of the human boy, without which all other knowledge is as naught in value for a Headmaster. His endeavour to meet the needs and the loud call of that age for cheap education is an object-lesson for all time. It was obvious then, as now, that a great school, officered by men of first-rate capacity and in due proportion to the numbers of the school, must always be expensive. The problem of securing men of the best quality in proper quantity, who are ready to make schoolmastering their profession, can be solved only by paying them. Russell endeavoured to meet that difficulty, which stood in the way of a cheap education, by resorting to a system which was then much talked of, and was known as the Madras System or the Bell System.* This was nothing more or less than a glorified system of pupil teaching. As the numbers of the School went up the

* So far as I know, he was the first and only Headmaster of any important school who put the system to its proof.

number of masters almost stood still. Thus, in 1818, for 238 boys there were 5 masters or 1 to every 47. In 1821, for 431 boys there were still 5 masters or 1 to every 86. But the place of masters was supplied by "præpositi," the picked boy of each form being set to teach the rest of his form, and keep order as best he could. I have heard Thackeray, at a Founder's Day dinner, tell the story—which was also told by Dean Saunders—how once Russell entered a class-room where chaos appeared to be ruling, and there being no sign of a "præpositus,"—"Where is your præpositus?" cried Russell. "Please, sir, here he is," and they fished out, from under the desk, the very small boy who had been set to rule over them. They had placed him there to be out of the way.

Yet, for a season, the system had an extraordinary success. The School * ran up in numbers till, in 1825, it reached 480, after which it ran down with mournful rapidity, and by 1830 the writing on the wall was plain for all to read. It had been tried in the balance and found wanting.

Yet it has been said that the Madras System might have had a longer, even a permanent, life if all the masters had been men of the stupendous energy and force of John Russell.† Even as it was it had a very real success with the boy of marked ability—though it is, perhaps, but one more example of the fact that such a boy will always learn under any system. But for the average boy, and especially for the boy below the average, it proved, as it was bound to prove, a complete failure. And the British parent,

* Interesting testimony to the esteem in which the School was held is found in a letter from the Duke of Wellington of March 18, 1820, to his friend, Lady Frances Shelley: "I am astonished that you do not send your second son to the Charterhouse, which I believe is the best school of them all. . . . Ever yours most sincerely, Wellington." Lady Shelley replies: "I perfectly agree that the Charterhouse is the best school of all. He is to be a sailor," etc. She had consulted Russell, who advised her against sending the boy, who must leave at 12 or 13. Wellington became a Governor in 1827.

† Russell did not take boarders in his own House, or even, for some time, live inside Charterhouse. He had such faith in the automatic force of his system that he lived at Blackheath, riding thither after school hours on a very good-looking black cob, as I have been told by old Carthusians of his day.

not always a far-seeing judge in matters of education, had got what he had asked for—a cheap education—and presently discovered the value of the article. It took him, however, some fourteen years to do so.

Naturally, as the School in the early days of "the System" ran up in numbers, Russell found himself in danger of being choked by his own success. He had much ado to find house room for them. There was no house within the walls at this time, except Gownboys, which took boarders. In Raine's day, as we have seen, Rutland Court, entered from Charterhouse Square, but overlooking the playground, had been brought into use, and also "No. 15," Charterhouse Square, the house adjoining the Master's Lodge, which had been, during the greater part of Raine's period, occupied by the Rev. James Steward * till the year 1811. Now, in Russell's day, No. 15 was in the hands of the second master, the Rev. Robert Watkinson (familiarly known, as I have been told by John Murray and other Carthusians, as "Watky"). It was a notable house, this. For, besides the great Carthusians of Steward's day, it held in the year 1821 Thomas Lovell Beddoes the poet, and John Murray, the third of the great publishing house (*b.* 1808), who, it is interesting to note from the Blue Book, was presently "præpositus" of the Form which held Dean Liddell and Thackeray. Next door to No. 15, namely in Nos. 14 and 13, united into one house, the Rev. William Henry Chapman—afterwards Reader, and then Rector of Balsham—took boarders. In the year 1821 we find that Watkinson had 148 boys in his house and Chapman 144. And he who knows the size of these two houses may well stand aghast at the knowledge. For we have sufficient means of judging of their capacities. Chapman's house, Nos. 13, 14,† still exists to tell its own tale, but Watkinson's

* In this house Sir Henry Havelock was a boarder under Steward at the same time as Archdeacon William Hale Hale, afterwards Master of Charterhouse. I state this on the authority of Miss Caroline Hale, daughter of the Archdeacon, still living in 1914. It is evident that George Grote, the historian, was in Steward's house at the same time.

† These two houses are now the Fife Hotel (1914), and, in external appearance, very little altered since Russell's day, as may be seen

was pulled down in 1838–42 to make room for the present sleeping quarters of the Master's Lodge.

The exact frontage of Watkinson's was 75 ft. 7 ins., and its depth about 40 ft., and it had three not lofty storeys. It will thus be seen that it stood over an area of perhaps one of the block houses at modern Charterhouse, built to receive between fifty and sixty boys, while its cubic contents were scarcely more than half. And into that space were crammed 148 boys, besides the House Master's family and staff of servants, and into the next house, Chapman's, as we have seen, 144. A letter in my possession describes the appalling overcrowding, and tells of the condition of things in one of these houses when an epidemic of scarlet fever broke out. The patients were crammed into an upper room which had direct communication with the box room. So they lay, and so they recovered.

But in the year which we have quoted the Governors appointed a small committee, headed by the Bishop of London, to report on the overcrowding, and as a result the order was made that in future the numbers of the two houses should be reduced to 100 each—still at least four times what they were fitted to carry according to the standard of to-day. This reduction led to the opening of three new boarding-houses, one for fifty-six by the Rev. Francis Lloyd at No. 18, Charterhouse Square—its size on the map shows how inadequate it was for such a number—while two new houses were opened in Wilderness † Row,

from a schoolboy drawing of the period, which shows that the balcony of to-day is that which existed in 1816. John Leech was in this House.

* Any knowledge of the surroundings of Russell's time, which ended twenty years exactly before my own school days began in 1856, is derived from letters, in my possession, written to me some thirty years ago by Dean Liddell, John H. Roupell, F. R. Hunt, Colonel Josiah Wilkinson, the Rev. W. Phillott, and others. Also from what I gleaned from Carthusians of that date, who in my day revisited Charterhouse, and even from what fell from the lips of Dean Saunders, Thackeray, John Murray, and Miss Leech, sister of John Leech.

† It is needless to remind the reader that Wilderness Row retained the memory of the Monks' Wilderness. Unhappily the name has, in the last twenty years, been changed to that of Clerkenwell Road, and one more landmark has vanished from London, with no very apparent gain to anybody.

Nos. 27, 28, one on either side of Berwick Street at the junction with the Row. These were each to hold fifty-six, and they both remain to this day. The house to the west of Berwick Street was held by the Rev. Edward Churton (Archdeacon Churton, the well-known Spanish scholar), while that on the east was opened by the Rev. Edmund Henry Penny. And, since Wilderness Row was neither then nor now exactly ideal for boys to roam in, a bifurcated tunnel (which still exists) under the Row gave access from the playground (Under Green) to these Houses. In the very first year of Penny's House, William Makepeace Thackeray was a boarder in it. And here occurred Thackeray's fight with George Stovin Venables, which for ever after gave to the great novelist's nose its resemblance to that of Michelangelo. I have in my possession a letter from J. H. Roupell, a monitor in the House, who gave leave for the fight but was too busy with Greek Iambics to preside himself on the occasion. Thackeray remained in that House for two years and then removed to the House No. 7, Charterhouse Square, where Mrs. Boyes took in a few boys who were marked under letter G as day boys in the Blue Book. In 1823 yet another boarding house was opened by the Rev. Andrew Irvine at 40, 41, Charterhouse Square, in the house—whether rebuilt or not I cannot say—once occupied by Lord Howard of Effingham, and earlier still by the Duchess of Dorset.

If the crowding in the houses was excessive, the accommodation in the playground was to match. Up to the year 1821 the School had only the space so often mentioned which represented the square of the Great Cloister of the Monastery. This space, known as "Green," is about 330 feet square, and from a report made by Dr. Russell in 1819 it was uneven, full of holes, and quite unfit for the playing of games. Of organised games, as we know them now, there had so far been none, though it must be remembered that in that respect Charterhouse was not very unlike most other schools. Cricket had not anywhere taken the place which it now holds, but at Charterhouse at least it must have been still in a prehistoric stage. Such a

thing as a match must have been almost impossible. Football had not anywhere developed into its final shapes, though the game at Rugby was well on its way. It was still in its condition as a mere "runabout" elsewhere. Probably at Charterhouse the Cloister game was beginning to take shape, but its history is buried in obscurity. There were in the south-east corner of "Green" next to Rutland House (afterwards called, as we have said, "Verites") two courts for bat-fives, but as these were paid for by private enterprise they are not recorded in the Governors' minutes and I cannot give their date, but I believe them to have been later than Russell's day. In 1821 the only game that I am able to trace in a set form was the somewhat unusual one of hoop-racing, which, as it has been described to me by those who knew it, was a better game than our modern pride might lead us to esteem it. To drive four big hoops at once round a square space of nearly a quarter of a mile,* with sharp angles to it—for that is what Colonel Wilkinson described to me—must certainly have needed no small skill and have had some fine exercise about it. It was for this form of racing that Lord Ellenborough, according to tradition, painted up on the old east wall of monastery date the word "Crown," with a presentment of a crown above it to act as a winning post. This name survives at Godalming, having been transferred to the Shop at the Pavilion. The bay of cloisters (west side) known as Middle Briers—no one has ever found a satisfactory derivation for this name—was known as "The Bell," in the said races, but this name has not been transferred to any site at Godalming. I may mention that Thackeray protested indignantly against the suggestion that the School played marbles in his day.

From what has been said it will be clear that the provision for games was miserably inadequate for over 400 boys, and in 1821—after waiting two years for it—Russell obtained the assent of the Governors to his levelling and improving "Green," and at the same time the wall

* John Wesley tells us in his diary that he used to keep himself fit by running round "Green" thrice every morning before breakfast.

just north of "Hill," which separated the site of the old Great Cloister ("Green") from the Monks' Wilderness garden was thrown down and two and a half acres from the latter were added to the playground. The two Greens thus became "Upper Green" and "Under Green." At about the same time Russell, at his own expense, had to raise the wall round "Under Green" which separated it from Goswell Street and Wilderness Row, since bold spirits were wont to overleap the previous inadequate boundary and to "tib out" as it was called. And this brings us to the question of discipline

No one will need to be told that with at most seven resident masters to 400–480 boys it was impossible to use effective control. Boys could be away for a day or two without being found out, especially if they were day boys. You took your holiday and on your return you took your chance. Colonel Wilkinson told me how he and John Leech (at that time a day boy) "tibbed out" once for a day's fishing on the Lea, and how, luck not favouring them that time, on their return they caught something which is not mentioned in any book on "British Fishes." In the great chaos of big forms it must have been not a difficult thing to escape notice. And whatever hopes Russell could have had of working his system to a success so far as teaching went, it is difficult to understand how he could have hoped for it in the matter of discipline.

Dean Liddell, in a very interesting letter to me, describes the state of things in Russell's own classroom, which was still Gownboy Writing School when he and Thackeray were together in the Second Form "Emeriti." Russell, by the way, had made the fatal mistake of changing the names of the forms, so that the head form was no longer the Sixth but the "Senior" or "First Form," the rest ranging down to the Twelfth Form, the rear being brought up by two forms of Petties.* In fact, Russell forgot the knowledge so important to any reformer, and especially a Public School reformer, that you may change

* The present writer began school life in 1856 in the Under Petties. There was no lower for him to start in.

anything you like with safety so long as you do not change the names. The school would have none of the new names, and kept religiously to their Sixth Form, just as they resented the substitution of fines for corporal punishment. Dean Liddell's friend, Dean Stanley, used to chuckle over Russell's failure here. "Russell was a very great headmaster who could do almost anything," he used to say, "except to overcome the conservatism of boys."

Russell had a colossal Sixth ("First Form"). In 1826, the year which Liddell describes, there were fifty-five in it. And Russell had inserted a sort of Under Sixth (Second Form) of fifty-four more boys. These he called the "Emeriti," and they were privileged to sit in the same classroom (Writing School) as the Sixth Form and catch, if they could, any passing scraps of the teaching and of the construing, for they were, says Liddell, themselves hardly ever "set on," and if they were the consequences were disastrous, since they naturally never prepared a lesson. Thackeray, says Liddell, sat next to him in this remarkable form, and the Blue Book of 1826 bears out the statement. Thackeray spent nearly all his time in drawing, but he also brought in a volume of Byron and a novel to fall back upon. In later years, says Liddell, when Thackeray, the Dean himself, and Mrs. Liddell were riding in the Park, Thackeray turned to Mrs. Liddell and accused the Dean of having ruined his prospects in life by always doing his Verses for him and so depriving him of all opportunity of self-improvement. Certainly the opportunities of such vicarious self-improvement as Liddell had—though he denied it, saying he had much ado to get through his own—must have been ample in that day. Another Carthusian tells me that Russell spoke with a peculiarly distinct and syllabic utterance, and made a great point of it that every one in his form should do the same. Considering the size of the form he must surely have sent forth a great brood of articulate-speaking men. The schoolmaster of to-day, as he realises the picture of Russell's classroom, can only humbly ask himself how anything got taught or learnt in

that vast assembly in the Doctor's classroom. Yet the names of the men who went out from Charterhouse in that day show us that it did.

But, as I have already said, the end came and came rapidly, not through the failure of the scholarly stratum of the school, but through the unfitness of the system to handle the average boy. In 1832 the numbers had dwindled to one hundred and thirty-seven with four masters. When John Russell went out from Charterhouse —there is something very pathetic in the farewell of the strong man—the school said good-bye to a great though mistaken Headmaster whose career had indeed made history for it.

CHAPTER XXIV

SAUNDERS—ELDER—ELWYN—HAIG BROWN

When Augustus Page Saunders, a man of strong will and a fine teacher, took up the reins in 1832, he was yet for some years to suffer from the downward impetus which was still upon the school. It reached low-water mark in 1835, when the Blue Book records ninety-nine. All the boarding houses in the square now ceased to exist, and the school shrank within the limits of Gownboys, Penny's house (Rutland Court, presently to be Verites—Penny had come to it from Wilderness Row in 1827), and presently "Saunderites." And except that the Reader took a very few boarders into his house, who were supposed to need special care, there were never again any other boarding-houses. In 1838–42, indeed, No. 15, Charterhouse Square, where great Carthusians had spent their schooldays, was pulled down to make room for the present sleeping wing of Master's Lodge, and at the same time the headmaster's house, at the north end of the terrace, was altered to accommodate boarders. Gownboy "Writing School" was divided in half by a wooden wall, and the northern half adjoining the headmaster's house was thrown into the newly-formed house.* It is greatly to be regretted that the Governors, who were at the time at heavy expense for the new buildings of the Brothers, felt themselves bound to resort to this economy rather than provide a long room

* The dates, therefore, of the three houses which gave their names to the three "blockhouses" at Godalming are as follows:—

Gownboys	1614
Verites	1794
Saunderites	1836

elsewhere for Saunderites. The plan involved the injury of a most stately room, whose final destruction at a later date is ever to be regretted.

From the date of its lowest numbers the school gradually recovered and in the forties once reached one hundred and seventy-eight. It must be remembered that the school was now fighting against odds which no headmaster, however capable, could withstand. The growth of London was going forward with leaps and bounds. The unwillingness of parents to send their sons from the country to a boarding school in London, which, once country, was fast becoming a space enclosed by streets and factories, was now making itself felt. The days of Charterhouse as a London school were, in the 'fifties, already numbered, though few could then have been found to realise it. In 1853 when Dr. Saunders retired and became Dean of Peterborough, he left one hundred and seventy-eight boys in the school. He had been a teacher of the first order—he produced two Balliol Scholars, Palmer and Walford, in one year—and a strong, at times even trenchant, disciplinarian. Carthusians of his day were full of good stories of his doings and sayings, marked all by a certain quaint humour which was among the valuable assets of his personality—witness, for example, his offer to two boys who were anxious to fight, that though he could not oblige them in that respect, he would flog each of them as long as the other desired, and it would come to the same in the end. Carthusians who had been in his Sixth were fond of telling how in his later days he would seem to be asleep, the form keeping up a drowsy humming for fear of arousing him, till he would suddenly wake up, pounce on some boy, set him on to construe, and in ten minutes teach more than many a man could do in a day. He left his mark on the school, and it was indeed fitting that a great school-house should keep his name alive.

The reign of his successor, Edward Elder, from 1853 to 1858 has a tinge of sadness in it. A man of the greatest intellect, a strenuous and able teacher, he added to his gifts a mastery of many branches of general cultivation

and was a man of wide interests. But he made, as I have been told by one who knew him well, his great powers pay too heavy a tax to nature. He would, after a strenuous day's work in school, go out, for example, to some new play, if it interested him, returning afterwards to work into the small hours of the morning. The strain was too great, the penalty had to be paid and the last two years of his life were shadowed by a great sadness. The work of the school fell mainly on his second in command, Richard Elwyn, who on Elder's death became headmaster. Most inspiring of teachers and most lovable of men, he entered on his task after a long and anxious strain which had fallen on him during the last period of his predecessor's rule, and he never, so I have heard him say, entirely recovered from it during his work at Charterhouse. He was not a man to spare himself at any time, and at the end of five years, during which he had such men as Henry Nettleship, Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb, Edward Wharton, and Richard Webster (Lord Alverstone) for his pupils, he resigned his post under the threats of a nervous breakdown. Few men have had, in greater degree and better deserved, the love of those whom he taught.*

When, in the late winter months of 1863, the Governors chose William Haig Brown out of a large field of competitors, they made a great choice. He had not long held office before it became clear that Charterhouse had got one of the strong type of headmasters. Nor was he long himself in grasping the situation of the school, which was briefly this. It was now so surrounded by a dense network of warehouses, factories, and streets as to offer no possibility of expansion. Even if by some miracle—it would have been little less—the numbers could have been once more raised so as to bear comparison with those of other great schools, no schoolhouses with which to meet the increase could have been provided within the walls, and still less could extra playground on a scale to meet the

* A rest and change entirely restored him. He resumed the congenial work of teaching as Headmaster at St. Peter's, York, and afterwards became Master of Charterhouse.

increased requirements of the day have by any means been provided. If Charterhouse was to hold its own with other Public Schools there was but one way—removal to a country site. The question had been already at times in the air. The reader will find it gravely discussed in *Papers from Greyfriars*, the school Journal, about 1859. But no serious movement was made till 1864, when the Public School Commission reported strongly in favour of the change, which had, during the inquiry, been urged upon them by no less a witness, amongst others, than Dean Saunders. In July of that year the Master and schoolmaster were ordered to make a report on the recommendation of the Committee, and this report was referred in November to a committee consisting of Earls Dalhousie, Romney, and Harrowby, the Bishop of London, and Lord Justice Turner, who, on March 15, 1865, returned their report to the Assembly with twelve recommendations. For our present purpose we extract merely clause 8 which refers to the removal of the school—

"8. That the Removal of the School into the country is unnecessary and also inexpedient inasmuch as it would entail the maintenance of two establishments, an expenditure which the funds of the Hospital could not meet. And that the idea that such a change is in consonance with the views and opinions of old Carthusians is an error."

It is hard, as one reads this record in the Governors' order book, to persuade oneself that this really took place within two years and two months of the final achievement. It is just this fact which enables one to gauge the greatness of that achievement. The Master of Charterhouse, Archdeacon Hale, whose great services to the Brotherhood and to Gownboys have already been gratefully recorded—he was indeed as much the second Founder of the Brotherhood as Haig Brown was to be of the School—was known to be adverse to the scheme, had indeed pledged his reputation that it would never go through. It was thought that his view would be that of the great majority of Carthusians,

bound as they were by affection and loyalty to a place which has always had a singular power of winning the affection of those who live in it. Dr. Haig Brown boldly put the question to the proof. He sent a circular to all available Carthusians to obtain their opinion. The result must have astonished even Haig Brown himself. The majority was not less than ten to one in favour of the Removal, though the vote was commonly coupled with expressions of deep regret for the necessity.

Dr. Haig Brown, in his modest account of this plebiscite and of what followed, quotes the pregnant answer of Bishop Connop Thirlwall: "You ask about my feeling as to the removal of the School. My feeling is that it should remain on the present site; my judgment says that it should be immediately removed from it."

Thus, armed with the assent of old Carthusians, Haig Brown went forward, and with his second-in-command, the Rev. Frederick Poynder, an old Carthusian of Russell's day, presented on May 1, 1865, a memorial to the Governors to consider whether, if it should be thought desirable that the School should be removed into the country, any and what means exist for carrying that object into effect. Lord Derby (who had previously been in strong opposition), Lords Devon, Romney, Harrowby, Cranworth, Lord Justice Turner, and the Master formed the Committee, who made a report in 1866, in consequence of which the Assembly of Governors resolved on May 2, 1866, as follows:—"Upon Consideration of the Memorials of the Schoolmaster and Usher, and of Certain Parents and Guardians of Scholars, as to the Removal of the School and the report of the Committee having reference to the subject read at last Assembly, the Assembly were of opinion that it is DESIRABLE to make arrangements for removing the School into the Country." And this, let us note, as beforesaid, was little more than two years from their previous decision in the other direction. The book is signed that day by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Duke of Buccleugh, the Earls of Derby and Devon, Lord Justice Turner, and William Hale Hale. No

one has ever disputed the fact that this remarkable change of front, which does the greatest credit to the open-mindedness of the Governors, was due to the indomitable spirit of William Haig Brown.

Then came, extending over several years, the details of the change. First of all, the choice of a site. Here, again, it is no secret that the same guiding spirit was behind the Governors. Other sites had been considered—Hitcham Bank, Taplow, for example. And the Governors owned land at Hallingbury, where Sutton had originally designed to place the School. But the happy fact that Haig Brown possessed inspired local knowledge—for the home of Mrs. Haig Brown * had been at Hambledon, a few miles away—led him to the choice of the site at Godalming, which was at the time in the market under the name of the Deanery Farm Estate, then the property of the British Land Company. The Committee of Governors who visited it reported that it was " a singularly eligible site for a Public School, having only one drawback—the want of adequate facilities for boating." Waiving the drawback, the Governors bought the estimated 68½ acres for £9,450. Never was a happier purchase made.

That autumn the Governors got their Bill through Parliament. I was present on the occasion—an undergraduate from Cambridge—in company with my late and my future Headmaster, Dr. Haig Brown, to hear the momentous debate. Mr. Ayrton, no inconsiderable force at that time, opposed it strongly, but Gladstone, who showed great knowledge—it was easy to see whence he had his brief—destroyed all Ayrton's arguments in a very lucid speech, and the Bill was duly passed.

The same Governors' Assembly (Nov. 29, 1867) which records the obtaining of the Bill, records also the sale of 5½ acres of land, with the schoolhouses, Gownboys, Saunderites, Verites, and Big School to Merchant Taylors' School for £90,000, a sum so ludicrously below its value that nothing can account for it save the desire to deal

* I can only here express my heart's tribute to one whose name all Carthusians delight to honour.

liberally with another Public School. This reason has been freely given. It may be the true one, but, whatever the cause, it is not too much to say that the Governors were as badly advised in their sale of their London property, as they had been well-inspired in their purchase of the Godalming site.

The end was not quite yet. Much had to be done, and the mere buildings were not a matter of a day. But the recording of these things with any fullness seems to belong rather to the History of the School at Godalming than to this, though, since the moving force was still in London, one may not omit all notice.

The Governors employed as their architect Mr. Philip Hardwick, whose plans were accepted on March 18, 1868, at an estimate of £49,000, which, in 1870, was increased to £58,044, and rose still higher presently. This sum included the three houses of the main building, now called the "block-houses," a "Big-School" room, now the library, with some half-dozen very inadequate classrooms attached, a steam laundry, stables, and no more. The ground purchased by the Governors, one may remind the reader, included only "Upper Green," the copse, and the land on which the School buildings stood, with the outlying portions used for the Headmaster's kitchen garden. Under Green, Lessington, Broom Leas were still in the far future, and were added chiefly by private venture. The building estimate did not include a chapel. An estimate for that was presently given at £4,200, but for two years the School was without a chapel, resorting to Shackleford Church, two miles distant, on fine Sunday mornings, with an evening service in "Big School" in the Sunday evenings. In truth, the School was at its new start but poorly equipped, and so remained for some years. There was no reproach to the Governors in this, nor to the newly-formed Governing Body of the School. The building costs soon gave the go-by to the £90,000 and went far beyond it. The Governors were not allowed by the Charity Commissioners to increase their debt. They were compelled to wait and do their addition, little by little, as money came into the

till. It was on this account that the eight boarding-houses outside the ring fence—once there were nine—came to be built, as so many other needful additions were made, by private venture.

Two great changes which were involved in the Removal need to be noted. The first was the handing over, under the regulations of the Charity Commissioners, of the government of the School to a Governing Body distinct from the Governors of the Hospital, who retained the government of the London establishment. The net income of the Hospital branches was, by the same authority, divided into two equal portions. The other great change which went hand-in-hand with the Removal was the abolition of the Nomination System for Foundation scholars and the substitution of Competitive Examination. Instalments of this method had been suggested so far back as 1813 by Dr. Russell, who had advised the opening of one nomination each year by examination to boys already in the School. He failed in his attempt, but in 1850 Dr. Saunders carried the matter through, and one exhibition a year up to the number of four—presently enlarged to eight—was granted to boys in the School. But in 1864 Lord Derby, in the House of Lords, pledged himself on behalf of the Governors, that under no circumstances would they consent either to the Removal of the School or to the opening of the Foundation Scholarships to competition. By the year 1867 both these points had been conceded.

The reader can perhaps realise how hard it is for one, who saw thirty-three out of the first thirty-four years of the School's development at Godalming, to resist the temptation to recall some memories of that stirring and inspiring time. But to do so would be to go beyond the purpose of this History, which is that of the Monastery, Mansion, Hospital, and School in London only. The ground, too, has already been occupied by more capable writers—by Dr. Haig Brown himself, by his son, Harold Haig Brown, and by Mr. A. H. Tod. The day must come again hereafter when fresh histories will have to be written to include

the future vicissitudes of our Great School, and to record the deeds of Carthusians yet unborn. Already the Carthusians of the forty years that have passed since the School left its old home in London have helped to make History. May the list always have on it names as noble as those that made its History in the Past.

GERALD S. DAVIES.

Master's Lodge, Charterhouse, E.C.
The Feast of the Salutation,
1914.

AFTERMATH

It would have been out of place to interrupt the course of sober history by the constant insertion of personal reminiscences, and yet, since the writer is one of the few who are left to tell the tale of school life in London before the Removal, I feel that some sort of a sketch of things as they were will be of more than a passing interest to those who only know things as they are. But the reader must be warned that he will find nothing here but a mere disjointed set of memories, which, however, may help him to add some tinge of local colour to the picture.

I came to Charterhouse on Jan. 25, 1856, a month or two after I was ten years old. I well remember my arrival at the great gates, and how I was forthwith despatched to the Medical Officer's house to be examined, and to have my achievements in the way of epidemics duly recorded. I had had nothing at all so far—not even medicine. And having come through triumphantly, I was taken thence to the Headmaster to see if I was "less apt for learning than some are." The entrance examination was hardly so successful as the other. I had no Greek and not much more Latin. And nothing else counted in those days. So, having asserted that "Monivi" was the perfect tense of Moneo, I was duly passed, and began life as the lowest (likewise the smallest) boy in the School, at the bottom of the Under Petties. Here is the list of the Forms as they then stood—

VI Form
V Form } Upper School.
Under V

IV Form [exempt from fagging].
Shell.
III Form.
II Form.
I Form.
Upper Petties.
Under Petties.

I am not sure if I wasn't placed too high—but it is too late to remedy that now. What a crew of little irresponsibles we were in the "Petties" to be sure! Our education was in the hands of the Rev. C. R. Dicken (who had been an assistant Master under Russell). He did not appear in School till ten o'clock—and he generally read the *Times* while we "prepared." It was our chief ambition to untie Dicken's shoestrings, while he was absorbed in the newspaper, without being found out. Successes to failures were in the proportion of about three to one.

There was a general examination once a year in Long Quarter—April—when almost, as a matter of course, the entire Form moved up. You had to know less than nothing to escape promotion. "Double promo," *i.e.* a promotion in between, was rare and highly valued. It may be said that the Form teaching (except in the Petties) was, with very few exceptions, good during the nine years that I was in the School. The mathematics were, however, taught by the Form masters, except in the case of the highest division. And the French teaching was admittedly almost a farce, though it was in the hands of a highly cultivated gentleman, Alphonse Mariette, who accepted the situation and caused us very little annoyance as a rule.

There were only three classrooms. The Forms for the most part, when not up to a master, did their work in "Big School," and some were even taken there "In Form." "Horseshoes"—semicircular cockpits with a seat all round the inside—were used for the purpose, and, though not without drawbacks, cause much less waste of time, where places have to be taken, than the fixed desk system. But the distraction caused by taking a number of Forms in one great room was quite another matter. If,

for example, while you were up to lesson in a "Horse-shoe" a free fight was going on in the Form that was down (each master took two Forms—one up, one down—and this was at first the practice also at Godalming), it was difficult to keep your attention fixed upon the more formal engagements of Julius Cæsar.

Every boy had the understood right of going out once in each school for ten minutes. Two boys were allowed out at a time from each form. It was realised, however, after 250 years' experience—our Great Foundation was never prone to make changes on imperfect evidence—that the meeting of these units outside was apt to lead to impromptu cricket matches, and the system came to an end under Dr. Haig Brown.

Our day was divided as follows (summer and winter alike):—Prayers and first school, 8 a.m. Breakfast, 8.30. Second school, 9.30 (10 for the VI) to 12. Dinner, 1 o'clock. Third school, 2 to 4. Tea, 7 o'clock. Banco, 8 to 9. House prayers, 9 o'clock, at which time Under School went to bed, Upper School sitting up till 11 o'clock.

It will be seen from this that afternoon school was always from 2 to 4 o'clock, and consequently, in the depth of winter, there was little time for games. The explanation of this very bad arrangement lay in the fact that "Big School" was unprovided with gas, or, indeed, artificial light of any sort. Indeed, when a London fog came on—and London fogs in those days were far more frequent and far denser than now—the greater part of the School was sent out to obtain lights. Candle ends, tapers, tallow dips stuck into stone ginger-beer bottles, were the chief illuminants. But study-fags could command more fancy articles. Big School on these occasions was a strange sight, with its irregular dotting of lights through the thick darkness. There were, however, always in every Form one or two of the evil-disposed who were ready, by the rapid sliding of a good-sized book all along the line of desk, to plunge the Form in darkness. It has

been ever thus with those who are " less apt to learn than some others."

It will be readily seen from all this that any success which masters had in getting their forms taught was not due to the machineries with which they were equipped. That they had such success can be judged from the records of the School.

On Wednesday every Form in the School, from the second form upwards—the poet's soul was not vexed with verse till he got into the second Form—did Latin verses. In the earliest days of the School it had been a regulation of the Governors that every Gownboy in the Upper School should make and exhibit on the School board an exercise in Latin verse. This nailing of your atrocities to the board, like owls upon a barn door, had ceased to be law in my day, but Latin verses were still done on Wednesdays by ninety per cent. of the School. In that day, when Richard Claverhouse Jebb was in Gownboys, there was generally to be found, outside his study door, a queue of vicarious poets waiting to get some verses done for them. It was good perhaps for Jebb if for no one else. And at least it ensured a consistent style in the Latin verse of the School. The method, however, could not claim for itself the merit of a wise subdivision of labour which could be urged for the method of preparing Greek play, for example, in the VI. One person, in that case, construed aloud, with the aid of Mr. Bohn's English edition—Cribs were allowed to the VI—and the last joined had to look the words out afterwards and report to the others. I make no comment on the value of the process, which, I need scarcely say, was supplemented by individual effort by any one who took any interest in scholarship.

There was one point in which I am compelled to say that the School, in its then circumstances, stood superior to the School in its subsequent circumstances—at any rate so far as I have had any experience—I mean in the matter of private and individual reading, and especially in English literature. No doubt the fact which I have recorded of the shutting into the houses during the winter

months of all the school after 4 or 4.30, aided by the fact that the House Libraries were in Writing School and the Under Long Rooms, and were open daily there, led to a much larger use of books than I have ever known since. The House Libraries were then of high quality moreover. It was a rare thing for a member of the Sixth to leave the School without having considerable knowledge of English literature. And a good deal of private work got done. Books were, in fact, a main resource under the circumstances, and, of course, the absence of other organisations and the smaller number of preoccupations had their say in the matter. The Public School boy of to-day, with all the hours of his week mapped out for him, is no longer thrown on his own resources.

Life in the Houses in that day was, no doubt, far more Spartan than in these. I have already said that in that respect Charterhouse of my day was not, so far as I know, very conspicuous or very different from other schools. All schools alike have adopted a higher standard of comfort. We were called at 7. There were no washing appliances in the bedrooms. We had to go down, across some very cold stone passages with free opening to the outer air, to "Cocks" * wherein were the usual plug basins, and a gigantic hot-water tap. As all Under School had to be out of Cocks before 7.45 to make room for Upper School, and as the basins were not numerous and we deferred our descent to the last moment, a large number resorted to the tap, primitive but effective, after which we returned to our bedrooms and finished our dressing. School door was closed at 8 o'clock to the moment, and it was no uncommon thing to see "Uppers" rushing schoolwards with a coat and waistcoat on one arm and a pair of braces on the other, in the despairing hope that they could complete the operation inside the porch of Big School (which they often did).

Breakfast for the Under School was at 8.30; for

* Gownboy "Cocks" was a portion of "Cloisters" divided off and fitted with basins, taps, etc.

Upper School at 9.0. We had, as Unders, a roll and a pat of butter and half a pint of milk. When you got to the Fourth Form you had a pint of tea instead of milk, and an Upper had the privilege of having his tea (which, however, he bought for himself) or his coffee made in his own private pot by his own private fag. Through the services of that same fag, moreover, he could indulge in many nice fancies with regard to the dressing of his roll or his toast—plain toast, buttered toast, frits (a round of bread buttered and then toasted—requiring skill and patience), splits (a round toasted on both sides, then divided and retoasted—the man who could do this really well was an artist), and "frittered splits," an achievement only possible to genius. The scene at the big fire in Writing School when every fag was trying to cook these various and precarious delicacies was unforgettable. It brought out evil passions at times. There was, as in after life, always the self-assertive person who shoved you out of your special hole and took it himself. It is true, if this thing was done too outrageously, it was an unwritten law that you might "bar his round," *i.e.* ram his precious toast against the red-hot bars. Sometimes you availed yourself of this law—that is to say, if the other fellow was smaller than you were—not else. Dinner was, for Gownboys, not in the House but in the Gownboy Dining Hall,* at the south end of the cloisters, which acted for us as a covered approach. The dinner, I may say at once, was good and ample and well cooked, but with a certain red tape monotony which was somewhat typical of the place. You could tell pretty well, if anybody had cared to look so far forward, what you would be eating that day year, that is to say, if you knew what you were eating at the hour itself. And nothing was ever allowed to vary the routine. Thus there was a certain plum-pudding, known as "stodge," which was served on Sundays. I may at once admit that it was quite good food. But at some time or other it had been condemned by one of the influences that be in a House. And for years and years no one touched

* This room is now the Brothers' Library.

it. One might have thought that—though its rejection was on its merits unjustifiable—some occasion might have been seized by the authorities to have withdrawn the much-maligned dish, say, for example, the beginning of a new quarter or a new year. But year in and year out that pudding came in and went forth, and no official suggested a change. At last, one day a certain person of independent character (I may not name him), and of a position to carry it through, ate that pudding while the House had to wait patiently and watch him. He repeated the process Sunday after Sunday. Somebody else fell in with his fancy, and then somebody else; and then everybody. And the pudding—always religiously served in full bulk as for the entire House,—which had year after year gone out uneaten, came at last to its own.

The evening meal, 6.30 for Unders and 7.0 for Uppers, was a repetition of breakfast. During the greater part of the time that I was at Charterhouse no meat was given with breakfast and tea, but at the end of the time meat was given at one of these meals. We could reinforce our meals at our own expense by relishes bought from the House butler or from the shop.

The said shop was conducted in a very small underground den or dungeon about eight feet square below the classroom at the west end of Big School. The shopman, one Tolfree, attended twice a week on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 2 to 4, or till such time as the supply held out. On an extra half-holiday he had to be specially summoned. He lived in Wilderness Row—I may mention, by the way, that both he and his father before him held a similar office at Westminster School, where they tossed the pancake on Shrove Tuesday—and on our side of the wall there grew a tree, known as Big Tree, whose upper branches commanded a view of Tolfree's shop. Fags were sent up this tree to holloa at the unhappy man till he came. His foods were excellent but simple, and few in number, "catpies," sausage rolls, fruit tarts, bathbuns, penny buns, and abernethies were his unvarying menu. The refinements of the modern shop were yet to come.

I have had to speak several times of fagging. That system as it existed at Charterhouse in my day was certainly very different from anything which bears its name to-day. It was much severer and more exacting. To many minds, indeed, especially those of the anxious parent, it conveyed a sense of horror as something which implied a system of hard labour and oppression for their boys. I may say at once that, having passed through it at a period when it was in its full swing, that unfavourable view is not mine at all. And so far from regarding it as a source of oppression I should, having regard to the condition of things in Public Schools of that day, when supervision by master was in embryo, I should reckon it, properly watched and limited, as an important safeguard against bullying. Most Public School men of that day would, I think, agree with me that the really dangerous bullying—the bullying which made a lad's life a burden to him—seldom or never came through fagging, nor from the privileged "Upper," but from the bully pure and simple, often in the same form, the same bedroom, as his victims. The system by which all Unders were locked into the bedrooms at 9.15 contributed to this latter result to some degree. There were doubtless Uppers who were by nature bullies and showed themselves so, but the fagging system did not in any way increase their opportunities, but rather diminished them, since, as I shall presently show, each fag who was attached to a special Upper would, in case of being bullied by some one else, find a champion in that same Upper. The system, however, must be explained. Only the first twelve—or occasionally fourteen—members of the House (in Gownboys) were granted their privileges as Uppers with the right to fag. No one below the Upper V received those privileges. The Under V were in the waiting stage and the IV were free from fagging. It generally happened that the number of fags in the House was considerably in excess of the number of Uppers. Once only do I remember a time when there was a shortage of fags—which, of course, made things for a time harder for so many of us as there were.

Every Upper had his own special fag who made his tea and toast, sometimes he had one for each of these services. Also he had study fags, sometimes quite a number. The standard of housemaidery amongst us was not, I grieve to say, high. We "kicked up no end of a dust," as a study fag once said in defence of his own efforts, but we let it settle down again in the same place as it had got up from. Our carpet beating and cushion banging was, however, good for trade. And we really did take a pride in our owner's studies. I may here say with regard to being told off as tea and toast fag (which included other forms of cooking) to some one Upper, so far from our regarding it as a tie or a grievance no fag of any character was ever willing to be without it, or to find himself a loose horse in the House. Not to be chosen by some one was a sign of incompetence. And I would not myself exchange such slight experience in self-helpfulness and resource as one got from it in life, for things which seem to be of greater value. The relationship between an Upper and his special fag was mostly kindly, and I cannot think of any Upper who ill used his own fag.

But besides the special relationship mentioned above, fags had to be prepared to run messages, to answer the cry of "fag," and, within reason, to do whatever they were asked. An Upper sitting in Gownboy Hall had only to call "fag" at the top of his voice, and the nearest fag—if there were several present it was the lowest—had to answer. There is a well-known Charterhouse story—as it is told again by the chief actor in his *History of Charterhouse*,* we may accept it as true—of how the survival of this method once saved the life, a life most valuable to Charterhouse, of a well-known assistant master when he was a monitor in Verites. He was swimming in the "bell hole" and found himself sinking, when with great presence of mind he called "fag." There was an immediate rush to answer it and the situation was saved, and so was the monitor.

Perhaps the chief abuse of the fagging system lay in

* A. H. Tod.

the fact that it left certain things to be done by fags which should have been done by servants. Thus the very heavy coal-scuttles required for our huge fireplaces were lugged about by two appointed "fire fags," generally chosen for their size and strength. The "basinite" system was less objectionable, though we disliked it, perhaps, more than anything else because of the waste of time which it involved. Every week three fags—a basinite set—were told off to valet the four monitors. We had to wait on them from 7 a.m. to the moment when those great men made their final rush for morning school: to dry their towels, lay out their garments, to get them hot water, and the like. The same again at dinner time and the same at tea time. Our dislike to it was mainly due to the fact that it was very dull. There was little to do while you were waiting for the arrival of the monitors, but to organise tallow candle races in the Great House cistern hard by. I have since realised that that cistern must have been the source of supply not merely of washing water but of drinking water to the House. And since collisions between the competing candlesticks were frequent, and the competitors sank to the bottom and remained there, it speaks well for the original purity of the water supply that no complaints were ever made of its tasting of tallow candle.

I believe I am right in saying that "fire fagging" was abolished and basinites modified by the Public School Commission, who, otherwise, did not find much fault with the Charterhouse fagging system. The blacking of boots was, I may mention, not a part, as is usually supposed, of our business. When my own mother learnt that her ten-year-old was to go to Charterhouse, she, like a wise woman, set to work to have me taught in all the utilities of household life—including the art of the shoeblack. That last equipment was not needed, yet I am grateful for the training which laid in me, perhaps, the foundation of that technical knowledge of art which has been such a solace to me through life.

There was no sick-room in Gownboys itself. It was in the matron's house, a separate building on the other

side of Scholars' Court. It was, if you were feeling really bad, sometimes a severe ordeal in winter or wet weather to go out at night to seek the matron, and the system on paper was dangerous. Yet I never knew any harm traceable to it. It is, indeed, a remarkable fact, which I have never been able to explain to myself, that with very few precautions, and very few machineries for health, and indeed with very many circumstances which would be regarded in a modern Public School as fatal, we enjoyed an extraordinary immunity, not only from epidemics, but from serious individual illness. I was at school nine years. I can remember no epidemic which ever went beyond six victims. That was mumps, if I remember rightly. There was no death in the school in those nine years, and no case of extreme anxiety. I cannot, for example, recall any serious lung case. Appendicitis had not then been invented, but none of its substitutes were in evidence. No doubt Charterhouse in London has always been an exceptionally healthy place, but the fact is not enough to explain to me, knowing what I do of schoolboys and their illnesses, how the above-mentioned state of things came about. Written down on paper the risks seem very grave, yet in effect during nine years—and nine years is a long time—they seem to have been non-existent. The Gownboy matron, when I joined the House, was Elizabeth Jeffkins, "Mother J," who had been there since Russell's day, who may have set eyes on all the great ones of that day, and who left behind her a memory as one of the best and kindest women who ever looked after boys. She died, the dear old lady, at the end of my first quarter. Our medical officer, Doctor John Miles, a man whose knowledge of human nature perhaps was in advance of his medical science, must at least claim the praise of having kept us healthy by simple means. He had, in his repertoire, two main remedies. If he suspected a boy of wishing to sham he gave him black draught; if he thought he was really unwell he gave him brown mixture. The would-be shammer feared the black, the ailing boy feared the brown, and so on the whole the sick list

was kept fairly free. There was, I know, a third remedy known as white mixture, but I have no idea what class of crime this was intended to meet; and I have even heard of a fever mixture, but I think it was a mere ideal. I would add that I never heard of a clinical thermometer in the matron's house, in those days, and I doubt its existence. I am sure that there was no boy in the School who knew (or cared) what his temperature ought to be.

Though games had not then taken the place either at Charterhouse or any other Public School which they now hold, they were then, as they always will be, of great importance in the schoolboy mind. To cricket, of course, the first place was given. Upper Green was given over entirely to the Upper eleven, and to the immediate candidates for that eleven, for practice and for matches; while Under Green was used by the second eleven and by all the rest of the school. By plentiful rolling, beating, and watering—all of which we did ourselves—we obtained on Upper Green very decent pitches, though by no means the run-getting pitches known to the present-day Carthusian. But in that day, with the exception of the Oval, Fenner's ground, and the Brighton ground, there were no run-getting grounds such as now may be counted by the score all over England, and we were not far below the average in that respect. You had to watch the ball, no doubt—not the worst thing for a young player—and this was true also of fielding, where the ball was apt to come off the buildings—we ran everything out—at perplexing angles. But good cricketers were made out of that ground, in spite of the fact that the numbers from which choice could be made were so small—less, often, than a hundred, since day-boys, as a rule, took very little share in games. Confining myself to my own time, we had the Rev. F. G. Inge (I was his cricket fag), who played for Oxford in those vintage years which saw Inge himself and R. A. Mitchell in the dark blue and the Hon. C. G Lyttelton, Plowden, and Daniell for light blue. A little later, Sir Courtenay E. Boyle played several years for Oxford and the Rev. C. E. B. Nepean kept wicket for that University. We played, as a rule,

no other school at cricket in those days, and the foreign matches by which we set most store were I. Zingari, M.C.C., the Guards, and Royal Engineers. There was a tradition, by the way, that he who hit the chapel clock thereby won the match. I never saw it done, though it was by no means an impossible stroke. There was one practice wicket whence the attempt was often made; but though the windows of the Reader—long-suffering man—were often broken close by, the clock itself remained untouched.

Football in the open was in those years, 1856–64, in its pupa condition. The schools which played the Rugby game had, of course, for many years lived under a settled constitution. But the day of Association football was not yet. That game did not receive its charter in the shape of set rules to be observed all over England till, I think, the year 1865. Meanwhile, Charterhouse, Westminster, and one or two other schools played each their own game in the open. Our own game and that of Westminster came, perhaps, the nearest to Association as it was afterwards created. It is needless to say, however, that the distribution of the field as we now know it had no existence. Goalkeeper was the only member of an eleven to whom a definite post was assigned. The other ten men played each on his own account to get the ball and keep it and, if possible, get it between the enemy's goal-posts. The names "forward," "wings," "centre," "half-back," "back" were unknown, and indeed did not come into existence until "Association" had gone some little time on its way. The art of passing was scarcely heeded. It was, in a certain sense, a selfish game compared to the present-day development. Handling the ball was allowed, and the ball, if caught, or stopped at first bound, might be used in a drop-kick. In other respects, with regard to the rules (unwritten) of charging, offside, etc., the game was much as it is now. And it was, even as it stood, a very good game, having in it all the undeveloped possibilities of the beautiful game of to-day. It was between the years 1859 and 1864 that the rules were printed, for the first

time, so far as I know. The elevens which were captained by the Rev James Butter, G. J. Cookson, B. F. Hartshorne, Lord Muir Mackenzie, and Edgar Gibson (Bishop of Gloucester) were those which witnessed the great change when the open game, fostered chiefly by Charterhouse and Westminster, blossomed into the new "Association" game. And it may be said at once that amongst those elevens were players who, individually, have hardly been surpassed, even in the brilliant days of Charterhouse football which were to follow. The ground (Under Green), it may be said, was very fast.

Cloister football may claim a much higher antiquity, but I have, in the absence of all records, totally failed to discover how long it had existed under any kind of organised rule. "Cloisters," my readers will remember, was the long, brick, barrel-vaulted arcade which the fourth Duke of Norfolk had built upon the site of the monastery cloister ambulatory to lead from his mansion to his tennis court. It had a blind wall on the west side (the front of the old line of cells) and was about 10 ft. broad, with buttresses on its east side separating windows which opened on to Green, at a height of some 3 ft. 6 ins. from the ground. At the north end of this arcade was a narrow door opening into Gownboys; at the south end a similar door opened on to Green. And these two doors were the goals. When the game was played by a limited number of players—say, nine a side or, even better still, six a side—it was a really fine game. But when a big game was ordered, such as Gownboys *v.* School, in which all fags had to block the respective goals and the mass of players filled the arcade, it was, in my opinion, a very poor game indeed, consisting of a series of "squashes" or dead blocks, in which the ball was entirely lost to sight, and a mass of humanity surged and heaved senselessly, often for as much as half an hour at a time. But, whether played by many or by few, the game was unavoidably rough. Hard knocks had to be taken cheerfully. A fierce charge was apt to send a player with his head against the wall, and much skin was lost at times. But it was a fine training for keeping

the temper under very trying circumstances. Strange to say, however, I never remember a serious injury nor a broken bone at the Cloister game.

Racquets, like open football, was for us at least in a very prehistoric stage. I have spoken elsewhere of two open courts which existed in the north-east corner of Green, hard up against Verites. One of these had a side wall of a kind, the other was a mere paved court with one wall. These courts had been always used for a kind of bat fives, played with an ordinary racquet ball and a wooden " bat " of the shape and size of a battledore. It was called " tennis," having, however, strangely little resemblance to that ancient game. But, somewhere early in the 'sixties, after the replastering and improvement of the walls, a proper racquet was used, and the game took the form of racquets so nearly as it might, under its imperfect conditions, without side walls. At the end of 1864, however, the Racquet Cup was instituted—for single racquets—by the present (1914) Master of Charterhouse and George E. Smythe, a very humble commencement to the game in which Charterhouse was to become famous.

We had no fives courts, a fact which I am afraid was somewhat typical of the singular want of enterprise on the part of the authorities so far as our games were concerned, though it resulted perhaps in a larger amount of enterprise on our own part. There were quite a number of places round and about where, by a little paving and plastering, courts might have been made as individual in character and as good for the game as the Eton pepper-box court. But they came not, and we were content to get casual knock-ups here, there, and everywhere.

It is needless to say that we were no " wet bobs " in any shape. We lay too far from the river for boating, and the deeds of Philip Pearson (Pennant) who rowed for Cambridge, of Canon Weldon Champneys (Oxford), and Archdeacon Seymour (Oxford) were certainly not due to any facilities which existed at Charterhouse in my day. I remember

nothing in the way of water larger than the tosh-cans with which we were in the habit of watering Green, and, incidentally, ourselves also.

So, too, we had no bathing. But, in the year 1864, when Dr. Haig Brown became Headmaster, he allowed the VI to go in summer to a certain beautiful bath, "Peerless pool" (originally "Perilous pool"), in Clerkenwell, to our great satisfaction.

"Athletic Sports" took their place amongst school organisations also during these same nine years—the first meeting was held, I think, in 1860—and they at once proved a success. The very first year of their institution brought out no less an athlete than Richard Everard Webster (Lord Alverstone), probably the best runner over a distance of ground that the School, and Cambridge afterwards, have ever produced; while, in the same year, Arthur Frederick Clarke (Archdeacon Clarke), who presently won the three miles for Oxford, won the mile in the third class. The same period saw the Hon. F. S. O'Grady (now Lord Guillamore), who represented Oxford in the high jump, and William Heaton Cooper, who was one of the best hurdlers that Cambridge ever possessed. The short races were run on turf, the long races on turf and rough gravel. The age was not then beset by the craze for records, and no comparison is possible between a mile as run to-day and a mile run in that day at Charterhouse, especially when we remember that a serious though short hill had to be four times negotiated in completing the distance.

But in no respect was the difference between the school life of that day and of this more marked than in the lack of provision—Charterhouse was in no way remarkable amongst Public Schools herein—for any humanising tastes, outside of athletics, which a boy might possess. It is indeed probable that we were in advance of a good many schools of that day. For the Governors had made it a law that every Gownboy should learn to sing, whether he had a voice and an ear—a good many had neither—or whether he had not. And so every Monday and Thursday,

at noon, a large number of Gownboys, and a percentage of boarders and dayboys who took singing as an extra, gathered in the Governors' Room. John Hullah, one of those famous musicians in the list which holds the names of Pepusch * and Cousens, Stevens and Horsley, was organist, and conducted the class. He was one of the most cultured and most fascinating of men, one who had known Mendelssohn in his English visits, and a friend of such men as Charles Kingsley, and many another whose name counted in that day. For Kingsley, indeed, he set many of his best-known songs to music: "Three Fishers," "The Storm," "Clear and Cool," "The Last Buccaneer," and other songs which deserve a longer life than has been given to them. These were often produced for the first time at the School concert held in May, in the Great Hall. It was a rich treat when Hullah, before the arrival of the body of the class, would, to a favoured few of us, sing over one of these new settings in his fine baritone voice. But to learn an instrument—piano, violin, violoncello —was hardly possible. It is true that here and there an enthusiast kept a piano in his study, or even in the monitors' room, but to obtain lessons on the said instruments was wholly out of the question.

And one other taste might be cultivated. Struan Robertson, whose connection with Charterhouse lasted from first to last for fifty years, ran the drawing class—an extra subject then—from 2 o'clock to 4 on half holidays. A more inspiring and more tactful teacher could not have been chosen, and, with no machinery at his disposal and in the face of great difficulties, he kept his class together and produced some very high results. But it is obvious that in so small a School, where all hands—one may say legs also—were needed for cricket and football, if the School was to hold its own, it was well-nigh impossible for a boy, when he reached the stage of trial for the elevens, to work at drawing on a half holiday. And the production of great masterpieces was seriously interfered with. There was no Leech prize in those days—naturally, since John

* Pepusch and Stevens were buried in Charterhouse Chapel.

Leech * did not die till 1863—but there were drawing prizes under a different name.

And there ends the list of cultured interests which were provided for Public School boys in that day, whether at Charterhouse or elsewhere, so far as I know. As I have already pointed out, however, this fact, combined with other circumstances, drove us largely to the resource of reading in our odd half-hours in the House, and the House libraries were of such excellent quality and so wisely laid open to our use, and so ready to our hand, that a compensation was by no means wanting. And here I think that my contemporaries would wholly agree with me.

I have tried to describe faithfully the features which made up our ordinary life at the School in those days. There were, of course, a large variety of unconsidered trifles that, as one looks back, went to make up the picture. Our life was of necessity—and I am quite sure of the wisdom of this restriction—a cloistered life, shut off as far as possible from all touch with London except on "going-out" Saturdays (weekly for Upper School and fortnightly for Under School), when from noon on Saturday to nine o'clock on Sunday—afterwards reduced to seven o'clock when the special School services were instituted—boys were allowed, with written invitation, to go out to friends. Otherwise we never passed the gates. I think it must have happened to myself, who had not many friends in London, to have several times passed a whole quarter without going outside. Let me assure the reader that we felt it—most of us—no imprisonment. We got the run of many things from which we were perhaps crowded out on other days.

And let no one suppose that the refining influences of the outer world did not penetrate to our seclusion. I can remember the fevered excitement which seized upon all

* John Leech and William Makepeace Thackeray dined on Founder's Day, 1863, for the last time. Both were nominated as Stewards of Founder's Day, 1864—on which day the present (1914) Master of Charterhouse made the Latin oration. But both were dead before that day came round.

classes in England in the month that preceded the great fight between little Mr. Thomas Sayers and tall Mr. John Heenan. We go mad over sport nowadays too many times in a week to concentrate our madness into a single dementity such as that was. The shops were ablaze with small flags, handkerchiefs, and coloured prints of the two men with their previous achievements. Lithographs and woodcuts were sold in every shape and at every corner. It was said—but " let them say "—that bishops, including several leading Governors of Charterhouse, were present at the fight in plain clothes and false noses. Every day sheets and sheets of the productions, of which I have spoken, found their way into Charterhouse, via day-boys and the servants, and were duly posted on the notice boards of the Long-rooms. The French Master's room, " New School," was decorated for him with a collection, which, if it existed to-day, might sell for a king's ransom. But the owners merely paid for them in French "lines" which never got done. Better still do I remember the morning after the fight, when the *Times* appeared with the whole of one side devoted to the details, and even the Headmaster so far gave himself away as to make to the VIth furtive allusions to Dares and Entellus, to Epeius and Euryalus.

I am reminded here that I was unjust in a previous page in omitting Fencing and Boxing as two of the tastes which a boy might cultivate. Angelo, whose name was a household word in London of that day, attended once a week in Gownboy Writing School. He had among his teachers one magnificent ex-guardsman, who taught boxing, and whose reputation stood so high that he had even been matched—but it never came off—to box with Jem Mace, champion of England—the boxer, not so much the fighter (the two things had a difference in those days), of all time. From this admirable teacher I had many most valuable clouts on the head.

Our Assembly of Governors of that date contained one or two men who, from time to time, had a Derby favourite —Lord Derby, to wit, and Lord Palmerston. Sir Joseph Hawley, too—a Carthusian though not a Governor, and

almost as good a judge of art and letters as he was of a horse—had a way of winning Derbies—he did so four times in all—and we did not fail to make record of the Carthusian triumph. We had our shilling and sixpenny sweeps—honourably conducted, I am sure, though I never drew a starter, but without perhaps the knowledge that should underlie these enterprises. For example, since the daily papers did not then give complete lists of "probable starters," we were at the mercy of the knowledge of the promoters, which did not go far. And if you drew a probable starter it was one which had probably started the year before. These little uncertainties, however, served to discourage gambling, though not so effectually as the method adopted by a certain House Master—though at a later period—who, hearing of a Derby sweep in his House, sent for the promoter, learnt who had drawn what, and undertook to hold the stakes. That night, after the race, he solemnly read out the names of the winners in his Long Room and, calling them up, sent them with their winnings to the Treasurer of the Charterhouse Lifeboat. It is said that Derby sweeps hung fire in that House for many years.

When I speak of Governors I ought not to omit one feature in the life of us Gownboys by which we were brought, from time to time, into the presence of very famous men. Whenever there was a Governors' Assembly there was a special half holiday, which, however, was lost upon Gownboys, since we were called upon to form a guard of honour in the lobby of the Master's Lodge. There we waited, skirmishing about in the entrance court, till the porter in his gorgeous gown, as a Governor's coach hove in sight, shouted the warning: "'Arrowby," "'Owe," "Palmerston," "Russell," "Durby," and we hustled into our places, while the great men walked between our lines into the Master's Lodge.

One appalling incident can never be forgotten. As Lord John Russell, his hat pressed down on to his shoulders, his wizened and expressive countenance half hidden by, and half projecting from, his many-folded stock, passed

along to the door, a certain Gownboy, who stammered badly and who also imagined himself to be talking in a whisper, was heard to say in the most audible voice, "This way to the monkey house!" And the interview which the monitors subsequently held with that Gownboy was understood to be not wholly for his peace. But if any one ever suffered through these ceremonies—which I can only look back upon with the greatest interest—some others gained. For it was the custom for a Governor to tip his nominee if he saw him in the line. The modest youth used to be pushed forward a little by his sympathising fellows—not perhaps wholly unmindful of the probable "sport" of a pot of jam at tea that night. Royalty never came, and those who were Royal nominees had to wrap themselves up in their pride and go without tips.

Of Founder's Day, as it was then celebrated, a word should be written. Gownboys only remained behind for Dec. 12, the rest of the School having gone home the day before. We ate, of course, strange foods in large amounts at breakfast and dinner in Hall in Gownboys, and at five o'clock in the afternoon came the Memorial Service in Chapel, which was followed by the annual Latin oration delivered by the head Gownboy in the Governors' room. The oration took a wide range, dealing with many points of public and of Carthusian interest; * and when it ended the vistors advanced one at a time to the Rostra and placed a gift in the orator's trencher. On at least one occasion the sum discovered in the hat, when all was over, amounted to over £200. The little wooden pulpit, dignified by the name of the Rostra, still remains in the Governors' room.

Then followed the dinner, which did not differ from the same function in these days. Thackeray was a frequent visitor on Founder's Day, as on other occasions. He dined and spoke at Founder's Day dinner on Dec. 12, 1863, twelve days before his death; John Leech, I remember,

* So many of these orations are extant that I may refer the Carthusian reader to them without further description.

sitting nearly opposite to him. It was a great delight to us Gownboys to get him after one of these dinners, as he smoked his cigar out on Green—for smoking in Great Hall was at that date deemed a kind of sacrilege—and have talk with him of his own schooldays. I can remember hearing him describe the "scraunch," which he declared he still felt, when his nose gave way in the fight with George Stovin Venables in Penny's House in Wilderness Row. His pockets were generally full of coin, which he distributed liberally to any small boys who, he thought, could do with it, and I doubt if he always reserved enough for his cab fare home.

One visit of his to Charterhouse deserves to be recorded. I give the story on the authority of the Rev. John William Irvine, who told it to me. Irvine was in Gownboys and "knew Thackeray at home." When the *Newcomes* was running through its later numbers, Thackeray one day appeared at Gownboy door and asked for Irvine, and then, taking him by the arm, said, "John, I am going to tell you a great secret. Colonel Newcome is going to be a Codd." And he therewith asked to be taken to a Codd's rooms. It was not, strictly speaking, allowed to us to visit a Codd's rooms, but it was often done and where the Codd was a trustworthy person no objection was made. And Irvine knew one, Captain Light, a blind pensioner, whom I well remember as being always led into Chapel on Sundays by his daughter. To his room * Irvine took Thackeray, and they had tea there while Thackeray, sitting very silent, said Irvine, listened to the talk and heard Chapel bell go for evening Chapel. It was then, I think, that the beautiful "Adsum" incident, which few men, Carthusian or non-Carthusian, care to read with any one else sitting in the room, took shape in Thackeray's mind.

And I do not know that I can better end this chapter of desultory memories of Charterhouse School life in a bygone day, than by merely quoting in full length the

* By the aid of an old Charterhouse servant, Robert Wright, who was House Butler at the time, I have been able to identify the room as No. 70 in XVI Staircase, Preacher's Court.

passage from the *Newcomes* which describes Founder's Day as he and we knew it.

" Mention has been made once or twice in the course of this history of the Greyfriars School—where the Colonel and Clive and I had been brought up—an ancient foundation of the time of James I, still subsisting in the heart of London City. The death-day of the Founder of the place is still kept solemnly by Cistercians. In their Chapel, where assemble the boys of the School, and the fourscore old men of the Hospital, the Founder's Tomb stands, a huge edifice, emblasoned with heraldic decorations and clumsy carved allegories. There is an old hall, a beautiful specimen of the architecture of James' time ; an old hall ? many old halls ; old staircases, old passages, old chambers, decorated with old portraits, walking in the midst of which, we walk as it were in the early seventeenth century. To others than Cistercians, Greyfriars is a dreary place possibly. Nevertheless, the pupils educated there love to revisit it ; and the oldest of us grow young again for an hour or two as we come back into those scenes of childhood.

" The custom of the School is that on the 12th of December, the Founder's Day, the head Gownboy shall recite a Latin oration, in praise Fundatoris Nostri, and upon other subjects ; and a goodly company of old Cistercians is generally brought together to attend this oration : after which we go to Chapel and hear a sermon ; after which we adjourn to a great dinner, where old Condisciples meet, old toasts are given, and speeches are made. Before marching from the oration hall to Chapel, the stewards of the day's dinner, according to old-fashioned rite, have wands put into their hands, walk to church at the head of the procession, and sit there in places of honour. The boys are already in their seats with smug fresh faces and shining white collars ; the old black-gowned pensioners are on their benches ; the Chapel is lighted, and Founder's Tomb, with its grotesque carvings, monsters, heraldries, darkles and shines with the most wonderful shadows and lights. There he lies, Fundator Noster, in his ruff and gown, awaiting the Great Examination Day. We oldsters, be we never so old, become boys again as we look at that familiar old tomb and think how the seats are altered since

FUNDATOR NOSTER.

FOUNDER'S TOMB (DETAIL). 1615.

we were here, and how the Doctor—not the present Doctor, but the Doctor of *our* time—used to sit yonder, and his awful eye used to frighten us shuddering boys on whom it lighted; and how the boy next us *would* kick our shins during service time, and how the monitor would cane us afterwards because our shins were kicked. Yonder sit forty cherry-cheeked boys thinking about home and holidays to-morrow. Yonder sit some threescore old gentlemen pensioners of the Hospital, listening to the prayers and the psalms. You hear them coughing feebly in the twilight—the old reverend black gowns. Is Codd Ajax alive, you wonder?—the Cistercian lads called these old gentlemen Codds, I know not wherefore—I know not wherefore—but is old Codd Ajax alive, I wonder? or Codd Soldier? or kind old Codd Gentleman? or has the grave closed over them? A plenty of candles lights up this Chapel and this scene of youth and age and early memories and pompous death. How solemn the well-remembered prayers are, here uttered again in the place where in childhood we used to hear them! How beautiful and decorous the rite; how noble the ancient words of the supplications which the priest utters and to which generations of fresh children and troops of bygone seniors have cried Amen under these arches! The service for Founder's Day is a special one; one of the psalms selected being the thirty-seventh, and we hear:—

"'23. The steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord, and he delighteth in his way.

"'24. Though he fall, he shall not be utterly cast down: for the Lord upholdeth him with His hand.

"'25. I have been young, and now am old; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread.'

"As we came to this verse, I chanced to look up from my book towards the swarm of black-coated pensioners; and amongst them—amongst them—sat Thomas Newcome."

ELEVATION MAP. 1755.

APPENDIX A

THE BUILDINGS

Charterhouse Square

An open space of about three acres, the property of the governors of Charterhouse. When the monastery was enclosed within walls, this space remained in use as a churchyard, having a chapel within the green space. It was known as Charterhouse Churcheyarde, later Charterhouse Yard or Square. It afterwards became a fashionable place of residence, being surrounded by good houses. Queen Catherine Parr lived here with her second husband Henry Nevill, Lord Latimer, before her marriage with Henry VIII.* Sir Arthur Darcy, Sir Marmaduke Constable, the Earl of Angus, Sir William Parr, Sir Christopher Wray, the Marchioness of Dorset, Lord Charles Howard of Effingham (son of the Admiral), Lord Winchelsea, Lord Grey, John Lelande, and others from time to time had their homes here. The French and Venetian ambassadors had houses in the square in Henry VIII's, Edward VI's, Mary's, and Elizabeth's reigns. Jean de Dinteville, who appears in Holbein's Ambassadors, lived here in 1533, and his successor, Charles Solier, Sieur de Morette (also painted by Holbein), in 1534. De la Motte Fénelon was here in 1570. Lord North built a mansion (as well as that which became Howard House) in the north-east corner of the square. This afterwards passed to the Duke of Rutland, whose name still survives there in Rutland Place, the site of the house. Sir William Davenant lived in Rutland House, and in Nov., 1656, by special license from Cromwell, stage plays (rudimentary opera) were given here. *The Siege of Rhodes* was acted, Mrs. Coleman taking the leading woman's part. In 1743 (George II) an Act of Parliament gave the control of the square to a body of trustees, the

* Lord Latimer's house seems to have stood on the site now occupied approximately by Nos. 10, 11.

freehold remaining the property of the Governors of Charterhouse.

In about 1588 one Syncleer, caretaker of Philip Arundel's tennis court in Howard House, set up a bowling green in the west side of the square, to the great annoyance of the residents. It attracted bad characters, who on one occasion pillaged the home of the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Christopher Wray, in the square.

Thackeray at one period of his schooldays lodged with a Mrs. Boyes in the square, at No. 9. John Leech's schoolhouse was No. 14.

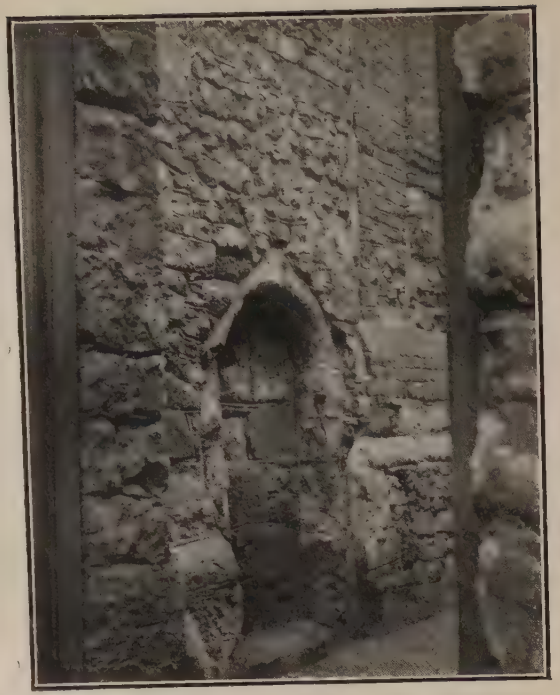
Charterhouse

1. The Gatehouse.—On the site of the Monastery Gatehouse, which was a simple arch with a timbered storey and gable above. It was rebuilt in the sixteenth century, and was then both longer and deeper than now. Repaired in 1613. Again in the eighteenth century. The side-door added in 1835. The arch and the table supported by lions belong to the Norfolk period, and the oak gate probably belongs to the last days of the Monastery. There is a tradition that the gates once hung in the brick arch opposite the entrance, which they exactly fit. The actual oak gate was once deeper by some two feet, which were removed as the soil was raised.

2. Entrance Court.—Looking from the Porter's Lodge the brick arch on the left is probably the work of William Tynbygh, Prior 1499–1529. On the right is the front of Howard House (North and Norfolk, 1545–1572). The upper floor is occupied by "the Long Gallery" (*see* p. 136). At the juncture of the red brick of the Registrar's House with the stonework is to be seen the east wall of the external staircase down which Secretary Barker led Ridolfi (*see* p. 137).

3. The Master's Court.—The three sides of the Court, now the Registrar's (west) and Master's Houses (east), belong to Howard House. Opposite to the visitor is the Great Hall. The Court occupies approximately the site of the little cloister with its guest houses as it was placed in the later monastic days, having apparently been pushed out towards the south from its earlier position. The beautiful old stonework is concealed beneath a facing of modern buff brick. The door at the north-east corner leading to Chapel dates from 1841, up to which time a door and raised steps beneath the great staircase window gave access to that portion of the buildings.

4. Chapel Court.—The lobby, which perhaps represents the site of the Priory quarters in the later Monastery, at the



LAY BROTHERS' DOOR TO CHURCH.
(*c.* 1371.)

THE GREAT HALL.

north-east corner of Master's Court has a door to the right which leads to Chapel Court, now the yard of the Master's House. A locked door on the left in the Court leads to a passage in which are seen the buttresses of the monastic church, together with a doorway, now walled up, which was the entrance door of the lay brothers, who passed from their quarters in Washhouse Court through a " slype " (passage) across what is now the Master's dining-room, and across the Chapel Court (*see later* Master's Lodge). The entrance for the monks was on the other side of the Chapel, opening out of the Great Cloister.

5. Chapel Cloister (so called).—The six glazed arches looking out on Chapel Court were built in 1613, but the two central arches were not glazed and enclosed till about 1842. In the cloister are memorial tablets to Thackeray and Leech, Sir Henry Havelock, John Wesley, Roger Williams (founder of Rhode Island Colony), John Hullah and other memorable Carthusians. Richard J. S. Stevens (died 1837), once organist, the author of well-known English glees, is buried here. On the left a door leads to Brooke Hall, once the officials' common room, which takes its name from Robert Brooke, headmaster 1628. He was expelled by Parliament in 1643 for his Royalist tendencies, and after the Restoration was allowed to return to free quarters here.

6. The Chapel.—The Ante-Chapel has the date 1512, showing that it belongs to the Priorate of William Tynbygh. The original monks' church is confined to the present south aisle, opening from the Ante-Chapel. The lower portions of the south and east walls behind the wainscot are the original church, founded in 1349, and adopted as the Carthusian Church in 1371. In the wall to the right of the communion table is a movable panel which covers an aumbry belonging to the original church, which followed the plan of nearly all Carthusian churches, being divided by a screen into two portions for the fathers or monks, twenty-four in number, and for the twelve lay brothers. This screen was placed at about the position of the preacher's seat, the entrance for the lay brothers being still visible in the external wall of the church. According to the Carthusian custom, the fathers and the lay brothers were separated, both in church and in the refectories.

The tomb of Sir Walter Manny, the founder of the monastery (*see* p. 19), was, as we learn from a manuscript in the Record Office, at the foot of the step of the high altar.*

* The Chapter-house was to the east of the church. The sacristy to the north (on the site of the present north aisle). We read also of a chapel of St. Anne, built 1405, at the west end, so that

The open arches resting on columns on the north of the monastic church belong to the date of Sutton's executors, who removed the wall and erected these arches and built also the north aisle, or bay, for the reception of the Founder's Tomb, finished in 1615. This aisle was originally lighted only from the north, the east window being inserted in 1841. Nicholas Stone was responsible for the "pictures"—*i.e.* the coloured sculpture; while Bernard Jansen, son of Nicholas Jansen of Southwark, and probably brother of that Geraert Jansen who is thought to have made Shakespeare's bust at Stratford, did the architectural details. The tomb is minutely described in the bill preserved in the Muniment Room. We learn from it that the figures in the upper part are the three Virtues with two children's figures typifying Labour and Rest.* The bas-relief is not specifically explained, but plainly it represents the Brothers assembled in their chapel. The two "captains" as they are described (not Law and Sutton, the executors, as has been asserted), who support the inscription, are an allusion to Sutton's profession. The founder lies beneath, a full-length effigy.

The iron grille is of much earlier date, and may possibly have belonged to one of the many tombs which had existed in the chapel or cloister. The Founder's body still lies in the vault below.

The half-length figure of John Law, Sutton's executor (died 1614), now placed very high up on the west wall of the south aisle, is also by Nicholas Stone.

In the pavement near the Founder's Tomb is the grave-stone of Thomas Walker, Headmaster 1679–1728, who had Addison, Steele, and Wesley for his pupils.

The pulpit, joint work of Francis Blunt, Thomas Herring, and Jeremy Wincle, is of 1613. James Ryder (1613) carved twenty-four of the wooden pewheads (some modern additions are easy to detect). The communion table and the organ screen are also of the date of Sutton's executors. But the gallery (1841) of the northern bay (1824), the screen (1841), and doors between the Ante-Chapel and Chapel, and the

women could hear Masses there without entering the monastery (Record Office MS.). Other chapels dedicated to the Virgin and All Saints, the Holy Trinity, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Mary Magdalene, St. John Evangelist, St. Agnes, St. John Baptist, St. Jerome and St. Bernard, St. Michael, were built around the church in the late fourteenth century and fifteenth century, it being the rule for every father to celebrate Mass daily.

* Two figures are not accounted for. They are thought to symbolise Plenty and Want, or Riches and Poverty, the left-hand figure holding a cornucopia, while the right-hand figure bears two birds, presumably the pair of turtle doves, the offering of the poor.

panelling of the south aisle are modern, except the portion of panel close to the entrance.

The tombs in the chapel were raised to their present position by Edward Blore (1841). They include the monument of Matthew Raine, Master (died 1811), by Flaxman; of Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough (died 1818), by Chantrey; of Francis Beaumont, Master 1617–24, and of others. Near the vestry is preserved a fragment of the Tomb of Sir Walter de Manny (died 1372), found some years ago built into the wall of Howard House. The organ screen stood across the south aisle till 1841 when a large organ by Walker required more space. When the school was in London the Foundation boys (Gown-boys) sat in the seats which remain in front of the Founder's Tomb. Their four monitors and four next boys of the house, sat to the left and right (looking west) of the column. The day-boys sat in the seats due west of the Founder's Tomb. The rest of the school occupied the northern bay (1824), where their seats still remain. The headmaster sat in a canopied pew (now removed) to the left of the communion rails; the usher in a similar pew on the right. Above the Ante-Chapel is the Muniment Room, which perhaps formed the Stranger's Gallery of the monastic church, being then accessible from the spiral staircase at the north-east corner of the "Chapel Cloister" (so called). If this conjecture is sound there must have been an opening now closed in the east wall of the Muniment Room to give a view of the High Altar. Above the Muniment Room and approached by the same spiral staircase is a large chamber with a sixteenth century chimney in it, used evidently as a living-room. All these three stages of the tower are of the date of Prior Tynbygh's priorate, 1512. In the Belfry above hangs, in the "Lover" * of 1613, the great bell, re-cast in 1631, by John Bartlett, from the earlier monastery bell which had been "solemnly hallowed with chant" by Dan Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, on July 18, 1428.

7. The Great Staircase seems, by Barker's confession, to have been new here in 1571, and may therefore be accepted as the work of the Duke of Norfolk.

8. The Terrace.—A paved walk, resting on the arcade built with it by the Duke of Norfolk, 1565–71, as a double "ambulatory" to his tennis court. The wall, visible from the houses on the left, has on the upper portion of the brickwork 1571 (the last figure conjecturally restored). The Terrace overlooks the site of the great cloister of the monastery,

* This bell still tolls the curfew at 8 p.m. in winter and 9 p.m. in summer. The number of strokes corresponds to that of the Brothers within the hospital.

afterwards the Duke's garden, then the "Upper Green" or match-ground of the school, and now the Merchant Taylors' playground. The open space within the cloisters was about 100 yards square. The twenty-four cells (cottages) were arranged round the three sides and part also of the south side to the east of the church. In the centre stood the conduit. The block of buildings on the north and beyond stands upon the site of the Monks' Wilderness, afterwards the "Under Green" of the school. The Great School ("Big School") stood on the north side of the present open space where the ground rises and forms "Hill."

9. The Officers' Library was originally part of the Great Chamber beyond, and was not separated from it till 1784,* when Daniel Wray, the antiquarian, a Carthusian, had bequeathed his collection of books to the hospital. At the same time the east wall was moved several feet into the lobby. The portrait of Wray over the mantelpiece is by Nathaniel Dance.* The Chippendale chairs are of high quality.

10. The Great Chamber, also called the "Governor's Room" and the "Tapestry Room," was almost certainly added by North or Norfolk. There was originally no west window, and the room at that end was lighted from the adjoining bay. When, between 1824–39, the new houses were built at the end of the bay, the lower mullions and most of the lights of the blocked-up window of the bay were used again for the west window.

The fireplace belongs to the Howard House period, though it cannot certainly be said under which owner; but the panels with Sutton's Arms and initials are a later insertion, as also are the Royal Arms with C.R. The tapestries (Flemish) were probably placed here by Norfolk. The fine ceiling of Norfolk's date was admirably repaired under Archdeacon Hale, 1841.

In this room James I in May, 1903, created one hundred and thirty-three knights. Up to the year 1872, the annual Latin oration was delivered here by the head Gownboy.

11. In the passage beyond is the Duchess' Withdrawing Room, more probably the Musicians' Room. This, since 1613, has been the private room of the organist. It contains an interesting collection of prints and drawings connected with Charterhouse. It was in this room that John Wesley must have paid the visits to Dr. Pepusch recorded in his diary. It has a door opening to the musicians' gallery.

12. Beyond is the Duke's Privie Chamber, now completely gutted, and retaining no trace of antiquity. It was here,

* Smythe attributes it to Powell after Dance.

however, that "under the matte hard by the windowe's syde in the Entrye towards my Lord's Bedchamber where the Mappe of England doth hang whereof I made my Lord Pryvie" (*see* Higford's Confession in Burghley's State Papers), the letter from the "Quene of Scots" was found.

The staircase on the left of the door of this room is the only remaining external staircase (there were once seven) of Howard House.

13. The Great Hall.—The lower portion of this hall belongs to the date of Prior Tynbygh's (1499–1529) rebuilding. As far up as to a point about 2 feet above the traceried windows the work is of the last years of the monastery. It is safe to conclude that the roof was raised by North or (more probably Norfolk, who added the upper tier of square-headed windows. The position of the adapted hammer beams, which are not placed symmetrically with regard to the lower windows, suggests that a makeshift was adopted. The Duke of Norfolk probably threw out the oriel bay (which was taken down and shortened in the nineteenth century). In the soffit of the inside of the oriel arch, invisible save by the aid of a ladder, is the motto "Think and Thank." Norfolk inserted the great screen of the singing gallery which has upon the shield T.N. 1571, showing that it belongs to the time when Norfolk had returned to Howard House after his first imprisonment in the Tower. The coved gangway running from east to west, in the opinion of the writer, is a few years earlier than the screen, as may be judged from the very clumsy plan by which the singing gallery is united to it, and by the fact that the frieze and two corbels on the right of the gallery have been shifted to the left so that the corbels no longer rest upon the capitals below, a method which could never have been adopted in an original design. The upper portions of the fireplace, the Arms of Sutton, and the cannon are the work of Jeremy Wincle, 1613. The lower part of the fireplace is, in the writer's opinion, of somewhat earlier date.* The ceiling seems to be of the date of the raising of the roof, as an examination of the rafters above shows that they would have been unsightly and unpresentable. But the ribs and panels were added to the plain ceiling by Blore (1841). The old stone paving of the Hall was changed to the present wood floor at the same time. The panelling of the Hall is perhaps of the date of Prior Tynbygh. The Great Hall was originally separated completely † from the Small Hall

* The heraldic animal in the centre, often called a salamander, is more probably a Tudor griffin.

† This is the writer's opinion, which contradicts the view which has gained ground only in the last forty years that the Great Hall was the Guests' Refectory.

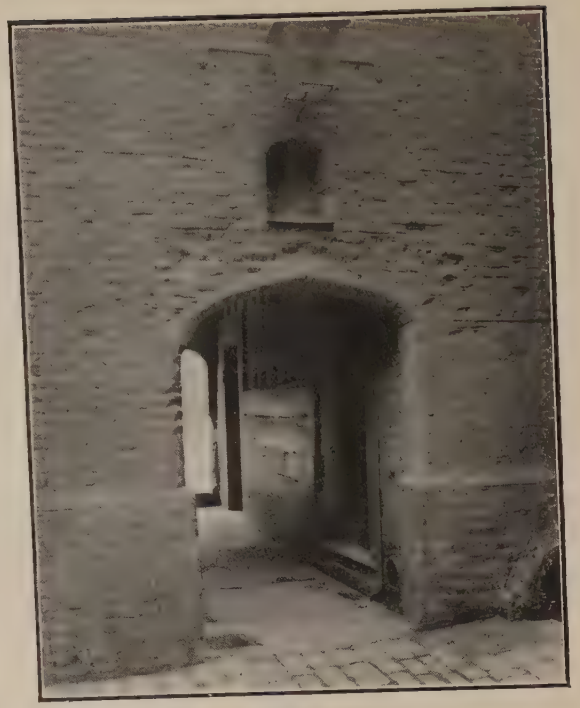
(Brothers' Library) adjoining. But Sutton's executors cut the two apertures which are now seen, throwing the two rooms together. These apertures were again closed by doors in Archdeacon Hale's time. The Brothers dine daily in the Great Hall.

14. The Brothers' Library presents a good many difficulties. It appears to occupy the site of the Prior's cell, and the Freytor (Refectory) of the monastery as indicated in the plan of 1431. Subsequently, under Prior Tynbygh, the Priors' room seems to have been moved to a point nearer to the chapel, probably where the open lobby is now seen, and it is probable, but can only be stated with reserve, that the Lay Brothers' Refectory occupied this position, the Monks' Refectory, on a larger scale, being moved to the position of the Great Hall. The portion, however, nearest to the east, from a mark cut on the north wall near the door at the north-east corner to the east wall, was originally part of the cloister ambulatory, and was included in the room by North or Norfolk. In any case the room must have been remodelled when the great chamber above was added. The door north-east and the fireplace are of the date 1613. Three of the stools are perhaps of late monastic date, and two of the tables are perhaps two out of the three which, in Dale's report (*see* Appendix B) are said to have been left in the Refectory. The room was used afterwards as Gownboy Dining Hall.

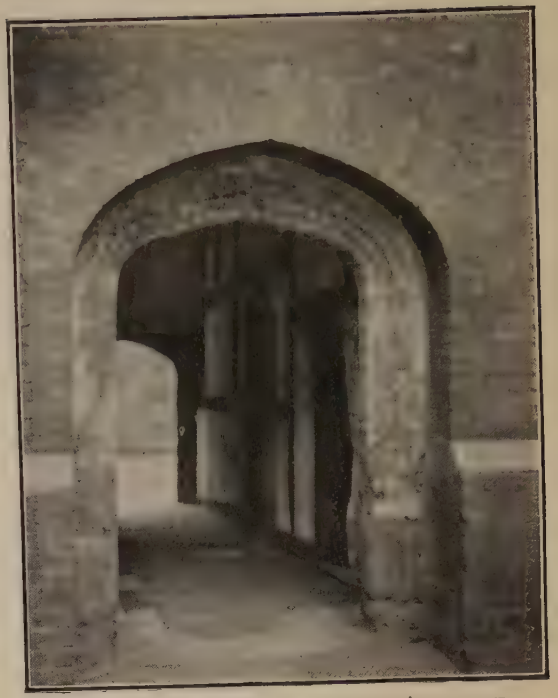
Underneath the Library, and extending about as far eastwards as the mark aforesaid, is a cellar (not shown) with some ancient features of monastic date.

15. The north-east door leads into the covered arcade known as the cloisters, built by the Duke of Norfolk in the site of the west ambulatory of the Great Cloister, of which the lower part of the inner wall remains. A door of one of the cottages (cells), with its hatch for the reception of the food, remains, and appears to be Cell B (in the monastery plan), founded in 1371 by Sir William Walworth (*see* pp. 57, 74). Another hatch, 50 feet to the north, is apparently that of Cell C, founded by Adam Fraunceys. On the east side of the playground, under a plane tree, is to be seen the door of another cell (apparently Cell T, founded by Sir William Ufford), now half buried behind a bank and steps. Another door in good preservation, and with some of the internal portion of the cell remaining, was visible up to 1872, but disappeared at the building of Merchant Taylors' Hall above it.

16. The Lavendry Court or Washhouse Court (also once called Poplar Tree Court). The west wing of this court was formerly prolonged towards the north some way into



SLYPE IN WASHHOUSE COURT.
1512–1539.



SLYPE LEADING FROM MASTER'S COURT.
1512-1529.

Pensioners' Court (*see* plan of 1755). Washhouse Court is probably part of Tynbygh's remodelling of this part of the monastery, and was built to accommodate the lay brothers, whose dormitories were on the upper floor, while their "Obediences"—*i.e.* serving offices, were below. We read of a lavendry or washhouse (the washhouse of the earlier monastery was to the east of the Chapter-house, opening out of the Great Cloister), a long workhouse * (west wing), a brewhouse (with a water supply from the great conduit), a kitchen, a bakehouse, and a fish hall. The court has been often repaired, but a good deal of old work remains. The porch leading into the kitchen on the north-east is, however, modern, of the mastership of Dr. Currey. The passage leading from the Preacher's Court into Washhouse Court is that spoken of in Barker's Confession (*see* p. 137). The passage into the Master's Court has on the north a portion of the Monks' Kitchen, perhaps built by Tynbygh, and adapted by North, but all the rest of the kitchen has been modernised. The name by which it is known, "The Prior's Kitchen," is, of course, fanciful, there being no such distinction between Prior and Monks in a Carthusian monastery.

On the outer wall of the west wing, in Preacher's Court, is to be seen a bricked-up low archway which, in an old plan of 1614, corresponds with a "Slype" from the court. It has been suggested by the Preacher † that this arch was formerly an open hatch at which the broken meats from the kitchen were distributed to the poor. Above it is a cross, while still higher to the left are the letters I.H. (probably a portion of I.H.S. rather than John Houghton), and there are three crosses in all.

17. The Master's Lodge occupies the east wing and half the south wing of the mansion of Howard House. The lower rooms of the house, which include the dining-room and study, were, before Archdeacon Hale's mastership, not used as dwelling-rooms, but were the offices of the Houses, according to the custom by which the upper rooms only—the Piano Nobile—of a Renaissance mansion were used by the family. Across what is now the Dining Room ran a slype or passage by which, in monastic days, the lay brothers had passed from Washhouse Court to their entrance to the Chapel. The Great Staircase is modern, added by Archdeacon Hale. It leads to the landing on the first floor which once formed the east extremity of the "Long Gallery," which is now divided off by partitions into the rooms of the Master's and Registrar's

* This room, partitioned, is still used for its original purpose, but the brewhouse, the bakehouse, and the fish hall are no longer so described.

† The Rev. H. V. Le Bas, to whom the writer owes much.

houses. For the part which this Long Gallery played in the history of Elizabeth's day the reader is referred to Chapter XIII. The east wing of the first floor is occupied by the small Drawing Room, the large Drawing Room, and "the Panelled Room." These rooms probably were the sleeping apartments used by Elizabeth and James I at their visits to Charterhouse. The large Drawing Room has a fine fireplace, probably of Norfolk's period. The centre panel is not original, and the portrait of Sutton which it contains—a late copy from the portrait in the Great Hall—was formerly over the fireplace of the small Drawing Room, where the portrait of Daniel Wray is now seen.

There is a tradition that some of the pictures now in the Master's Lodge were left here by Anne, the wife of James Duke of Monmouth, and they have been commonly called the Monmouth pictures. It is, of course, obvious that that belief, if sound, could apply at most to five or six of the portraits, since most of the others cannot be brought into line with the tradition, either by reason of unfitness of date or of political party. The fact that every portrait in the Lodge, except that of Daniel Wray and Matthew Raine, is of a Governor of Charterhouse, also induces reserve. The pictures, though interesting, are, with one or two exceptions, especially Kneller's portrait of Burnet, not of the very first order, and one or two have suffered badly at the hands of the restorer. The list of portraits is as follows :—

Thomas Sutton, an eighteenth century version of the portrait (painted in 1657) in Great Hall.

Thomas Sutton, an oval in the chief fireplace. A reproduction from the portrait in the Hall.

King Charles II (*c.* 1660).

Gilbert Sheldon (Governor, 1661), Archbishop of Canterbury.

George Morley (*c.* 1663), Bishop of Winchester.

Humphrey Henchman (*c.* 1667), Bishop of London.

Benjamin Laney (*c.* 1668), Bishop of Ely.

William Craven, Earl of Craven (*c.* 1668).

George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham (*c.* 1669).

Antony Astley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury (*c.* 1672), attributed to Greenfield.

James Scott, Duke of Monmouth (*c.* 1679), attributed to Sir Peter Lely.

Thomas Burnet, Master (*c.* 1685), by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Signed 1694.

John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire (*c.* 1685).

Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury (*c.* 1689), attributed to Sir Peter Lely.

PENSIONERS' COURT. (1826.)

John Somers, Earl Somers (*c.* 1694).
William Cowper, first Earl Cowper, Lord Chancellor (*c.* 1707).
John Robinson, Bishop of London (*c.* 1713), by Michael Dahl.
John King, D.D., Master (*c.* 1715).
Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London (*c.* 1723), by Richardson.
Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington (*c.* 1732).
Daniel Wray, Benefactor, 1785, by Powell.
Matthew Raine, Schoolmaster, 1790, by Sir Thomas Lawrence.
Charles Manners Sutton, Archbishop of Canterbury (*c.* 1805). Copy by G. R. Ward after the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence at Lambeth.
Arthur Duke of Wellington (*c.* 1828), by G. R. Ward.
William Hale Hale, Archdeacon of London. Master (*c.* 1840).

18. The Preacher's Court is occupied by the rooms of the brothers and by the Preacher's House. Up to the time of Archdeacon Hale, the brothers occupied the old monastery barns and outbuildings which, having been provided with floors, chimneys, and staircases, had for 200 years done service as quarters. The buildings stretched diagonally across from north-east to south-west of the Preacher's Court. The two courts which we now see were built between 1826–39. The inner court is called Pensioners' Court. The fishpond of the monastery lay where the north wing of Pensioners' Court now stands, extending over a portion also of the old Brothers' burial ground. The Brothers or Pensioners now live as in a college of Oxford or Cambridge, on staircases, each having his separate room or rooms. On the left-hand side of Preacher's Court, Staircase No. 16, is the following inscription :—

IN THIS ROOM LIVED
CAPTAIN THOMAS LIGHT
WHOM THACKERAY VISITED
WHEN WRITING THE LAST
CHAPTERS OF THE NEWCOMES.

APPENDIX B

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE MONASTERY

I

Will of Sir Walter Lord of Manney, Knight. London, St. Andrew's Day, 1371. [Nicolas. Testamenta Vetusta.]

My body to be buried at God's pleasure but if it may be in the midst of the Quire of the Carthusians called Our Lady near West Smithfield in the suburbs of London of my foundation but without any great pomp. And I will that my executors cause 20 masses to be said for my soul and that every poor person coming to my funeral shall have a penny to pray for me and for the remission of my sins. To Mary my sister a nun X pounds [Harleian MS. 6148 omits this. Dugdale, vol. ii, p. 150 gives it].

To my 2 bastard daughters nuns viz to Mailosel and Malplesant the one CC franks the other C franks to Cishbert my cousin [Dugdale omits] to Margaret Mareschall [Margaret daughter of Thomas de Brotherton Earl Marshal] my dear wife my plate which I bought of Robert Francis: also a girdle of gold and a hook for a mantle and likewise a garter of gold [the KC's Garter] with all my girdles knives all my beds and dossers in my wardrobe except my folding bed paly of blue and red * which I bequeath to my daughter of Pembroke [Anne Plantagenet † wife of John Hastings Earl of Pembroke] and I will also that my said wife have all the goods which I purchased of Lord Segrave and the Countess Marshal. Also I will that a tomb of alabaster with my image as a Knight and my arms thereon shall be made for me like unto that of Sir John Beauchamp in London. I will that prayers be said for me and for Alice de Henalt ‡ Countess Marshal. And whereas the King oweth me an old debt of 1000 pounds by bills of his wardrobe I will that if it can be

* The arms of Manney.

† See list of founders of cells in the monastery, p. 71.

‡ Alice de Henalt, believed to be Alys de Halys, first wife of Thomas Earl of Norfolk, his wife's mother.

obtained it shall be given to the Prior and Monks of the Charterhouse and whereas there is due to me from the Prince from the time he has been Prince of Wales the sum of C marks per annum for my salary as Governor of Hardelagh [Harlech] Castle, I bequeath one half of these to the Monks and Prior of the Charterhouse before mentioned and the other half to the executors of my will. To my wife and my daughter Pembroke the fifteen m̄ florins of gold and five " vesseux estutes pli " [sic.] which Duke Albert oweth me by obligation. To Sir Guy Bryan * Knight my best chains whom I also appoint my executor.

II

Abstract of the Will of Michael [de Northburgh] unworthy minister of the Church in London. May 23, 1361. [R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of London Wills.*]

A copy of full will exists in Charterhouse Muniment Room. He leaves many bequests. Money for portions to poor girls: for poor householders more especially for bondsmen nativis of the Bishop of London. 100£ to maintain poore scholars in Canon and Civil law at Oxford for 4 years and 20£ to the Master to Chamber of London 10£ and a similar sum for the repair of roads in Essex. To Michael Fre his books on civil law and his magnum opus a concordance of law and canons: also an entire suit of armour, a missal without music a small bible: 3 silver dishes, salts, a Byker called " Katherine " an amice, cope etc.

To Thomas, brother of the said Michael, to each of his servants, to Richard de Ambraslee, to John de Cauntebrigg fishmonger and others he leaves sums of money and household goods: and to his successor his best mitre and pontifical ring. He further leaves the sum of 2000£ for the foundation of a House according to the ritual of the Carthusian Order in a place commonly called " Neuchurche hawe " where there is a church of the Annunciation of the B.V Mary which place and patronage he acquired from Sir Walter de Manny; and he leaves to the said House when complete the divers basins † for use at the high altar a silver vessel enamelled for Containing the Host: his best silver stoup (meliorem stopam) for the Holy Water with sprinkler, silver bell etc as well as all his rents and tenements in London.

The will, with a fragment of seal attached, is preserved among the Archives of St. Paul's Cathedral.

* Guy de Brienne—buried in Tewkesbury Abbey.

† These seem to be the vessels described in the inventory made at the Suppression. See Appendix B, iv.

III

Extracts from MS. in the Record Office, Chartularies of Charterhouse 61.

[This MS., compiled apparently by a Carthusian Monk soon after 1481 (the last date recorded in the MS.), gives a complete account of the foundation of the monastery and a list of benefactions up to the date of compilation. It evidently belonged to the Archives of the Monastery. It is referred to in this book as M.S.M.I. = *i.e.* MS. Monachi Ignoti.]

" He, [Northburgh] approached the aforesaid Lord Mawny being minded to found in the said cemetery of New Burial a House of the Carthusian Order earnestly praying him that he would consent to have him as an associate and helper for the said work. At length they agreed that the Bishop should give Lord Mawny 1000 marks so that he should become his associate and after the same lord the first founder of the House and his sucessors the bishops of London perpetual patrons of the same House which sum he paid with speed to the said lord: and they thereon made indentures of which one written in French and confirmed with the seal of the bishop is left with us [*i.e.* Charterhouse] the effect of which is here clearly set forth in Latin.

" In the name of JESUS, amen. This is the agreement made between the Reverend father in God Dan Michael of Northbury by the grace of God Bishop of London and Sir W. Mawny Lord of Mawny and it is in this sort—that the said W received the said Lord Bishop as his first associate after himself for the foundation and advowson and building of the Church of the Annunciation of our Lady outside London beside Smithfield which was begun to be built on the day of the Annunciation of our Lady in the year of grace 1349 according to English use to build there a perpetual Carthusian Convent of thirteen priests of that Order if it can well be done and if not of another Order according as they may agree or in a smaller number to remain for all time to celebrate and say daily for their two selves aforesaid and for Dame Margaret Marchall lady of Mawny wife of the said William [WALTER] and for their children and successors of this blood and for the souls of all their ancestors of whom they have come as well as for those who belong to the foresaid Bishop, and for all parents friends and benefactors of both and for those living and dead for whom both are bound to pray or make prayers and especially for the souls of all whose bodies are or shall be buried there.

" And it was agreed that while the said Michael and Walter are alive the aforesaid Walter during his life time ought to be

the first founder patron and advocate and the aforesaid Michael the Bishop his next associate as aforesaid.

* * * * * *

"And after the death of the said Walter the said Dan Michael of Northbury ought to have the patronage and advowson for all time and also that neither Margery Mareschall wife of the said Walter nor their children nor their heirs nor any other through them shall be able to claim any share in the patronage or advowson of the said church save this that they shall be first after the said Walter and the Bishop in all masses memorials prayers orisons and hours.

* * * * * *

"Dated at London the 9th of May in the year of Grace 1361."

IV

Other Benefactions to the Monastery through Gifts and Bequests.

The Founders of Cells in the Great Cloister, viz. Sir Walter de Manny: Sir William Walworth: Adam Fraunceys: Lady Mary de St. Pol (countess of Pembroke): Thomas Aubrey and his wife Alicia (or Felicia): Margaret wife of Frederic Tilney (or Thymelby): Sir Robert Knolles and Dame Constance his wife: Dan John Bokingham, Bishop of Lincoln: Dan Thomas Hatfield, Bishop of Durham: Sir William Ufford, Earl of Suffolk: Dan Richard Clyderhow, Esquire, Armiger: John Clyderhow, Clerk: William Symmes: Dame Joanna, widow of William Brenche (Brenchly), Knight: Dame Margery Nerford and Christina Ypstones her maid [all these cells were founded under the usual condition of perpetual prayers for the souls of the founders and of others named by them. The same conditions apply in almost all cases to benefactions (*a*) by indenture in the lifetime of the benefactor and (*b*) to bequests under Wills].

1431. William Symmes and Ann Tatersall gave the great conduit.

1436. John Clyderhow gave the Little Cloister and the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene in it.

1453. Sir John Popham, Royal Treasurer, Chancellor of Maine and Anjou, gave the chapel dedicated to St. Michael and St. John Baptist, and the little chapel to the east of it dedicated to St. Jerome and St. Bernard the abbot, and endowed them with the Manor of Rolleston.

1475. William Freeman, sometime clerk of St. John of Jerusalem, gave the Chapel of St. Agnes in the north side of the church.

1481. Robert Hislett gave the altar and chapel in the Cemetery (Charterhouse Square) dedicated to the Blessed and ever Virgin Mary and all the Saints (M.S.M.I.).

Richard II, by Charter under the great seal, granted the advowson of the Church of Edlesburgh and leave to appropriate the same; the monks being bound that one of the brethren specially celebrate and pray for the souls of Richard II: Lady Ann, Queen: Lord Edward Prince of Wales (the Black Prince): the father of Lord Edward, Richard's Brother: the father of Princess Joan: Edward III: and all the faithful departed. M.S.M.I.

There also exist Indentures whereby the monks are bound to offer prayer in return for benefactions: and between 40 and 50 wills are given by Sharpe, in which bequests are made to the Monastery. These bequests in some cases seem to include the condition of burial within the precincts.

V

The following Monuments * of persons buried in the Church, Chapels or Cloister are mentioned by Stow.

Sir Walter de Manny, Founder: [in the middle of the choir in front of the High Altar; a fragment is preserved in our chapel].

Dame Margaret de Manny, wife of the Founder.

Sir William de Manny, brother of the Founder.

Marmaduke Lumley.

Sir Lawrence Bromley, Knight.

Sir Edward Hederset, Knight.

Dame Johan Borough.

Sir John Dorewent Water, Knight.

Katherine, daughter to Sir William Babington.

Blanch, daughter to Hugh Waterton.

Katherine, wife to John at Poole, daughter and heir to Richard de Lacie.

William Rawlin.

Sir John Lenthaine, Knight (query Leynham ?) and Dame Margaret, daughter of John Fray.

John Peake, Esq.

* The Priors and Monks are not mentioned. Their burial-ground lay at the south-west corner of the Great Cloister.

William Baron and William Baron, Esquire.
Sir Thomas Thwaites, Knight.
Philip Morgan, Bishop of Ely, 1434.
In the cloystre Sir Bartholemew Rede, Knight. Mayor of London, buried 1505.
Sir John Popham, Treasurer of England.
Sir Robert Rede d. 1519, Chief Justice of Court of Common Pleas was buried in the Chapel of St. Catharine in the Church of the Carthusians Charterhouse, where he had founded a Chauntry with a salary of 8£ a year for 30 years. Indenture dated July 18, 1517. Conventual Leases. London. No 138. Sir John Heth was one of the Chauntry priests. Sir Robert Rede was founder of the Rede lectures at Cambridge.

VI

List of the belongings of a Carthusian Monk of the London Charterhouse at his transference to the Charterhouse of Mount Grace, Jan. 1519–20, Record Office, State Papers, Henry VIII, vol. iii, p. 606; given in vol. xviii, *Yorkshire Archæological Society.*

Be yt Remembyrd that I Dane [Dan, Dom or Dominus] Thomas Golwyne monke professyd of the howse of London hadde w^{t} me by the lycens of the honorable ffader Prior of the sayd howse of London, Dan Wylliam Tynbegh: when I departyd from London un to Mownte Grace. All these things under wrytten the XXV day of January in the yere of owre lorde M^{L}CCCCCXIX.

Imfirimis iij habyts as they come by cowrse.
Item ij newe stamyn shyrts and j olde.
Item ij newe stamyn colys [cowls] and j olde.
Item ij newe hodys and j olde.
Item a newe coote lynyde and an olde mantell.
Item a wyde sloppe furryd to put over all my gere of the gyfte of my lady Convay.
Item a newe cappe and an olde.
Item a newe pylche [pelice, fur gown] of the gyft of Mr. Saxby.
Item an olde pylche. And iij payer of hosen.
Item iij payer of newe sokks and ij payer of olde.
Item iij olde sylecs [hairshirts] and a lumbare.
Item a new payer of korkyd shone lynyd and j payer of doble solyd shone.
Item a payer of blanketts and ij goode pylows and ij lytell pylows and a kosshyn to knele on.
Item a newe mantell by the gyfte of Syr John Rawson Knyght of the Roods.

Item a lytell brasyn morter w^t^ a pestell gevyn by the gyfte of a frende of myn.

Item ij pewter dysshes ij sawcers an a podynger and a lytell sqware dysshe for butter.

Item a new chafyng dysshe of laten [plate-tin] gevyn to us and ij newe tyne botylls gevyn by a kynsman of owrs.

Item a brasyn chafer that ys to hete in water.

Item a brasse panne of a galon gevyn to us lyke wyse.

Item a lytell brasyn skelett [skillet = bucket or pot] w^t^ a stele [handle].

Item a payer of new felt boots and ij payer of lynyd sleppers for mateyns. Item a fayer laten sconse.

These boks drawen together by lyne be yn velome.

* Item a fayer wrytten yornall made by the cost of Masters Saxby havynge a claspe of sylver and an ymage of Seynt Jerom gravyn ther yn the seconde lef of advent begynnyth Jerusalem alleluia this boke standyth in makynge iij li.

Item a fayer written primer w^t^ a Kalendar and many other Rewls of oure religion theryn.

Item a fayer written sawter w^t^ a fayer ymage of Seynt Jerom theryn in the begynnynge the ij de lef of the sawter begynnyth te : erudimini [*i.e.* from Psalm II, v. 10].

Item a large fayer boke wrytten w^t^ the lessons of dirige and the psalmys of buryinge and letany and Response theryn notyd.

Item a boke wrytten conteyninge certeyn masses w^t^ the canon of the Masse and a kalendar in the begynnynge of the boke w^t^ a fayer ymag of Jhesu standyng befor.

Item a lytell penance boke wryttyn.

Item a wrytten of prayers of diverse saynts w^t^ ymags lymnyd and dirige wrytten theryn.

Item a wrytten boke of papyr w^t^ divers storyes of ars moriendi theryn.

Item a printed portews [portable breviary] by the gyft of Mr. Rawson.

Item a yornall and a printyd primer gevyn by Mr Parker.

Item a lytell legent aurey [perhaps Caxton's *Golden Legend*] in printe.

Item a shepds kalendar in printe.

† Item Ysops fabylls [perhaps Caxton's Edition] in printe.

Item directorium aureum in printe.

* It is evident that this monk had for his handicrafts Weaving and MS. writing.

† Caxton, Wynkyn-de-Worde, and Julian Notary, all printed editions of the *Golden Legend*. Caxton printed an *Æsop's Fables* with many woodcuts.

* Item a complete frame prto wefe w^{t} Corsys [courses] w^{t} xix polysses [pulleys] of brasse and xix plummetts of lede w^{t} ij swordys of yron to worke w^{t} in the frame.

* Item a dowbyll styll to make w^{t} aqua vite that ys to say a lymbeke w^{t} a serpentyn closyd both yn oon.

The Statutes of the order of 1259, by Prior Guigo, set forth that to each monk are to be given :—

" For writing a desk pens chalk 2 pumices 2 inkhorns a penknife 2 razors or scrapers for scraping parchment, a pointer an awl, a weight, a rule, a ruler for ruling, tables, a writing style.

" But if a brother be of another craft which very rarely happens amongst us, for almost all whom we receive, if it can be done we teach to write [*i.e.* to transcribe MSS.] he has suitable tools for his craft.

" And there are given to him 2 pots 2 plates a third for bread and a lid for it. And there is a fourth somewhat bigger for washing up. 2 spoons a knife for bread, a flagon, a cup, an ewer, a salt, a pan, a towel, tinder for his fire fuel a strike-a-light, wood, a chopper. But for works an axe."

VII

Original deed now in Charterhouse Museum, Godalming, once a Phillips' MS. 14004. (A copy in French in Charterhouse Muniment Room.) An agreement between John Ffereby and Margery, his wife, on the one side, and the Prior of Charterhouse on the other, for the conveyance of water from Islington to the Great Cloister. The deed is witnessed by Duke Humphrey. The plan of the water supply, in three skins, now in Charterhouse Muniment Room, London, evidently belonged to this deed.

" Johannes Ffereby (or Fferiby) Armiger et Margeria Sponsa Ejus Et Prior [John Maplestede] et Conventus Domus Salutationis Beatæ Marie de Ordine Cartusiensi Juxta Londinum. Dec. 2 in ninth year of Henry VI [1430]."

The expenses of this supply, together with those of the building of the great Conduit in the middle of the Great Cloister, were paid out of the goods of William Symmes and Anne Tatersale. (M.S.M.I. under date 1431.)

* See note on previous page.

VIII

Record Office MS. abbreviated.

Richard Leighton
Thomas Leyghe
Francis Cave
Henry Polsted
Thomas Thacker

A declaration made the 22d day of Merche 30th year of Henry VIII (1537) by the said Comyssõners concerning the Goodes and Chattalls of the late Charterhouse in the County of Middlesex by Richard Riche and others.

Date. Nov. 12. 30. Henry VIII.

The arreariyes owing to the said house.

Plate * delyvered to John Wyllyams [Sir John Williams] 400 and 47 ounces.

For a vestment also del[ivered] to the said John Wylliams ornamented stuff of household vestments solde, 9. 16. 8.

End of all the chargos, 9. 16. 8.

Item for costes charges expenses rewards, 5. 16. 8.

And then Court debt, 3. 19. 0.

Memorandum The Prior must paye all rewards wages liveries as well to the Monkes Convent and servants of the revenue by him received.

Mem. The Bells lead and other edifices there remain unsold and defaced.

A vestment of white velvet wythe an Angel of Gold embroidered and set wythe pearls all which plate and ornaments were delivered by order of my Lord Privy Seal [Thomas Cromwell] to Thomas Thakestone to the use of our Sovereign Lord the King.

The High Altar of the story of the Passion of boune [ivory] wrought with small images curyoslye. At either ende of the said altar an image the on [one] of St John Baptist the other of St Peter and above the said Altar 3 tabernacles the nether front of the altar of alablaster with the Trinitie and other Images. On the south side of the same at the end of the Altar a cupporde * painted with the picture of Christ. On the north side of the Altar an Ambrey with a letter. In the same Quere a lampe and a bason to beare waxe both of latten [plated tin]. The Stalles of the said Quere on either side with a lectorn undefaced.

St. John's Chapel in the south side of the Church. A Chapel of St. John the evangelist and the other of St. Augustin

* This would have doubtless included the Holy Vessels left to the church by Michael de Northburg. See Appendix B, ii.

at either end of the said Altar. Item the said Chapel is sealed with oak wainscoat and other borde about three quarter's high.

The Body of the Church. The rood loft with an image of Christ crucified and mounteyn. . . . The two alters on either side of the Quere doore on the south side an altar wythe a table [picture or sculpture] and the assumption of our ladye gylte there remaynynge.

Chapel of S. Jerome * an alter table with a crucifix of —— Mary and John two images at either ende of the Said alter the one of Jrme (Jerome) the other of Saint Barnard partly being sealed with wainscot. Item 2 seats and a lyttell coffer.

Item an alter of St Michael with a fair table [picture] of the Crucifix Mary and John and at either ende of the alter an image the one of Saint Michael the other of Saint John.

Mr. Rede's † Chapel an altar wythe a table of the Trinity the 4 doctors of the Church the same chapel being seelyd with wainscot and 2 Covers all remaynynge undefaced.

Item nyghe unto the said chapel a pewe with 2 seats of wainscot.

The North side of the Quere.

An altar with a table of Saint Anne gylt with certain other images gylt and painted item a table with an alter. A table of St Anne and our Ladye with certen other images above the Said Alter at either ende and an image with a tabernacle and betwixt every one of the said Alters above wrytten there is a partytyon of wainscot.

The West ende of the Churche. On the North side an alter with a table in the myddes a Crucifix of Marye and John fayre painted Item in the myddes of the said Ende a partytyon of timber with pykes of iron above.

The Chapter House. An alter wythe a table of alablaster with seven joies of our Ladye at the nether ende of the sayd Chapter House a lytell Chapel of waynescote.

The Sexton Chamber [Sacristy].

A cheste wythe 3 lockes contayning all the evydence of Adrian's Chauntrey. Item a nother plate Cheste withyn the same bounden with iron. Item a messe boke with a Cubberde and certeyn other bowkes with a large troughe of wood.

In the Fish Halle iiii olde tables 3 formes an olde painted cloth.

In Egipte [*alias* the Fleshhouse in Charterhouse Square] 2 tables and 2 formes.

In the Frater certain tables and waynscote.

* St. Jerome, St. Barnard, St. Michael, St. John. These altars and the figures of the saints are recorded in M.S.M.I., under date 1453.

† Rede. See Appendix B, v.

In the Cloyster a laver of decayed metall.

In the drynkynge place. 2 round tables, 3 forms a chayre a cheste an andyron and an old picture.

In the Priors new cell * a pan and a furnesse.

In the Laundry a pan and a furnesse.

In the Brewhouse 2 brewing leadys: a mashing fatt withe trough of lead 2 yelinge [*sic*] fattes. 26 Runnells with other old tubbes.

In the Matte House.

A horse mylne with the appurtenances.

In the new Brewhouse.

A greate leade 3 greate fattes and other old tubbes.

In the Bakehouse, 3 moulding tubbes 2 trowes a brasspan.

In the Store House, 32 pipes of lead.

In Bowlting House, a beam of iron, 4 half hundred weight of lead and a moulding table.

In the Fish Kitchen 4 cisterns of lead all in one a little furness of Brass, a skyppinge borde and 2 hangynge shelves.

In the larder 8 shelves.

In the Butterye 12 tubbes greate and smalle cubbordys with certeyn ole bordys and a long table.

Over and besides all the edificiones and byldynges of the Church, Isles, Steple, Chapitoure house and Ffrayter as all other celles and chambers with all the lead bells glass yron gravestones tombes and pavinge stones which remayneth undefaced untyl the Kinges pleasure be furder known except certeyn Cellys which were defaced from the time of the dissolucyon over and besides certeyn stallys and seatys in the bodye or vales [?] of the Churche whyche were solde as yrafter is specified.

[To Lord Latimer [husband of Katherine Parr, see p. 307] is due 30£ and he holds in pawn an olde myter and a cross. Debt incurred by the predecessor of the Pryor.]

Item to Thomas Howey for money boroed of him by the present Pryor for the use of the Pryor.

Total debts 53. 3. 4.

[Then follows an inventory of miscellaneous vestments, napery, etc., from which the following extracts are taken.]

Baudykin, a Red velvet vestment.

An old dore, an old cloke, 7 seats and settles in the Body of the churche, 2 feather beds, 2 bolsters, 2 blankets, an old

* This appears to have been situated near where now we see the open space with columns, and a fireplace west of the so-called Chapel Cloister. I believe it to have been the present Preacher's House (1914).

coverlet, a standing table and chair, 17 napkins and table cloths.

The Flesh Kitchen [this was otherwise called Egipte. It was outside the Monastery in Charterhouse Churchyarde or Square] 2 cordes.

Priors Cell.

6 silver spoons. a fatte of silver. other utensils belonging to the Prior yeven to the Prior [Trafford] in reward and over and above to every monk their bokes and stuff in their own cells and to every monk a vestment with the appurtenances and 6 vestments given to 6 parish Churches.

Payments made

John Grove and William Dale * kept the House for 12 weeks 30 shillings.

Paid to William Dale from dissolucyon to March 3rd following 40 shillings.

Paid for 2 Sunday dinners for said commissioners their clerks and servants, and making the inventory and executing the King's affairs 26/8.

To Thomas Owen for keeping orchards gardens and cells and board wages in gross 20/–.

Mownkes [so spelt].
To William Trafford 4£.
Edmund Sterne Treasurer 40/–.
Thomas Harman 40/–.
John Evyns 40/–.
Richard Tregore 40/–.
Wyllyam Merit 40/–.
Maurice Chauncey 40/–.
Bullen 40/–
Nicholsen 40/–.
Baker etc etc etc.
[The Conversi got 20/– each.]

To wages and liveries for servants 10/– wages+13/4 liveries.

Pensions. To the Prior no pension assigned but remitted unto the King's highness his most honourable council And the said House remains as yit was delivered to John Grove and William Dale by the Commissioners until the King's pleasure be further known.

[William Trafford signed the surrender June 12, Henry VIII 29th year. 1537.]

* This is the William Dale, the caretaker, whose report in the Record Office is given in Appendix B, ix.

IX

Some Documents relating to the Distribution of the Effects of the Charterhouse (State Papers Domestic 30 Henry VIII $\frac{U}{315}$). (From the original in the Public Record Office.) *

"Received of William Daylle by the hands of William Doone, at the commandment of Master Doctor Lee, Doctor Layton and others, the 24th of November, 30th Henry VIII (1538) for Master Doctor Lee, in the Church of the Charterhouse in London.

"First, seven pews for seats, a desk, and two panes of plain panel that stood upon two chests.

"Item, delivered to the late PRIOR † of the said house, all the wood given to the said late PRIOR by the King's Visitors, which was sold for £15.

"Item, delivered to the King's Gardener coming to the said Daylle in the King's name, for the King's Garden at Chelsea, all such bays, Rosemary grafts, and other such like things as was meet for his grace in the said garden, showing unto the said Daylle the King's commission for the same.

"Item, delivered unto Master Richard Cromwell's gardeners, all such bay trees and grafts as they thought convenient for them.

"Item, delivered to Master Fitz Hugh, a whole cell of wainscot as it stood, by Master Richard Cromwell's token, which was a gold ring.

"Item, certain brethren took away (the fittings of) their cells as they stood, by your mastership's ‡ commandment as they say.

"Item, all the Kitchen stuff, and buttery stuff, sold to Doctor Cave is had away by Master Doctor Cave's servant as it was preysed by the visitors.

"Item, Doctor Byllowse' servant had two cart load of hay away, by commandment of the visitors.

"Item, delivered to Sir Arthur Darcy the custody of three small cells adjoining to his house, which he had of my Lord Privy Seal by Master Chancellor of the Augmentation's commandment, upon a token from my Lord Privy Seal, and by the said Master Lee's assent.

* The spelling of this document is so strange and unintelligible that it has been deemed advisable to modernise it. Dale was completely illiterate.

† William Trafford.

‡ Thomas Cromwell.

" Item, delivered to Master Doctor Talbote the Custody of the New Cell, by the Commissioner's commandment.

" Item, delivered to Master Wuddall, the custody of one cell, by Master Doctor Lee's commandment and Master Thacker's.

" Item, sold and delivered to Master Pickering, by Master Doctor Cave's commandment, all the wheat and malt in the house.

" Item, delivered to Master William Dune, for the use of Master Doctor Lee, twelve elmen boards and quarters as many as made the full of a load.

" Item, delivered to Dune, one grindstone.

" Item, delivered to the King's Gardener, the 22nd of November, two loads of grafts.

" Item, delivered to the King's Gardener, the 25th of November, one load of grass.

" Item, delivered to the cator of my Lord Privy Seal's house, three baskets of herbs.

" Item, delivered to the King's gardener, the 23rd of November, three loads of bay trees.

" Item, delivered to the King's gardeners, out of the orchard of the Charterhouse, three trees, grafts of all sorts as doth appear by the pits where they were taken, in all 91 trees.

" Item, sold and delivered to Master Doctor Cave, all the Vinegar.

" Item, delivered to Master Semer and Master Smith on St. Nicholas eve last, 200 Carps.

" Item, delivered to Fey's Mill pond to Doctor Layton, 100 Carps for the King's Store.

" Item, to Master Layton, twelve car load of timber, and six car load of stones.

" Item, delivered to Master Brooke, all the New timber in the Charterhouse Wood-yard bought for the Goodman of the Splayed Eagle in Gratyus Street [Gracechurch].

" Item to the said Master Brooke, all the hay that Master Doctor Bell has left behind him in the Charterhouse in London.

" Item, Master Doctor Layton's servant fetched away four Merlin birds, and all things belonging thereto.

" Item, delivered to Master Layton, three boards in the bakehouse, and other stuff thereto belonging.

" Item, delivered to Master Layton, a bundle of roses.

" Item, delivered to Master Haydon, Receiver of the Charterhouse all the wainscot in the corner cell, the 23rd of January.

" Item, delivered to the said Master Haydon, 22 new pipes of lead, the said 23rd of January, by the commandment of the Chancellor as he said.

" Item, the said Master Haydon has taken and laid up all the timber and stones that he could find about the Charterhouse which was necessary for the King's use.

" Item, delivered to the said Master Haydon, 22 cases of glass, which were taken down by Owen and delivered to him to keep in safe guard for fear of stealing.

" Item, delivered to William Myles, servant to my Lord Privy Seal, the custody of the barber['s shop], and the cell adjoining to it, by the commandment of Master Doctor Lee and Master Layton the 28th January.

" Item, whereas he said that I the said Keeper should have the charge of the Church, I never had, as it shall be proved, for the truth is that Master Doctor Cave has had the Key of the Church ever since the House was suppressed, and has it at this day; therefore, sir, it is nothing in my charges, and I pray your good mastership to charge me not with all.

" Item, where they would charge me with seven cells next to the Church, the truth is I never had the keeping of none of the said seven cells, but one Gerard Haydon first after the suppression of the house had the keeping of five of the said cells, and the keeping of Sir Arthur Darcy's house. And after that, Haydon entered the Earl of Angus to the said house and five cells.

" And after the said earl, entered Sir Marmaduke Constable to the said house and five cells, and (he) occupies them to this day. And for the other two cells, one the same time has been in the keeping of one Master Talbot since the suppression of the said house, and is yet unto this day. Wherefore, I trust your mastership, of your goodness, will not charge me with all the keeping of the said seven cells.

" Item, so (there) remains in the keeping of William Daylle, the 27th of February, by commandment of the Chancellor of the Augmentations, twenty cells, certain lodgings, with a hall, a kitchen, a buttery, a wine cellar, the old brewhouse with ij ledys and mashefats ij yell fatts and xx Kymnells in the same, three stables, the saw pit, the washing house, with one place called the fijshall with four houses of horses (?) under the same two chambers, and the cundeth [conduit], the new brewhouse with a great leyd and iij fatts in the same, a horse mill which is above the old brewhouse, with divers things appertaining to the same.

" Item, delivered to the said Daylle, by the commandment of the Chancellor of the Augmentations, the custody of all the stuff remaining in the storehouse. And the master is commanded to deliver the said stuff to the said Daylle by bill indented.

" Item, for the rest of the said cells, which is twenty, there

was one which was keeper with me, whose name was Thomas Gromes, servant to Doctor Lee, which Thomas did sell unto Gerard Haydon all the wainscot being in one great cell for £1 6*s.* 8*d.*, of which sum the said Thomas and William have received of the said Haydon 5*s.*, and so the rest of the said money remains in the hands of the said Haydon.

" Item, there was one little Sir William (who) defaced and took down all the new wainscot in a cell which was late(ly) billeted to his own use as he intented. Notwithstanding the truth is that one William Daylle and George Wudworth, servants unto my Lord Privy Seal, found the said wainscot where the said Sir William had laid it up ; and we took it away from thence, and kept it to such time as we were imprisoned, and then we were glad to sell it to keep us with.

" Item, the other two cells of the said twenty, which one Master Canton did keep, which two cells are spoiled, but in my conscience no fault in the said Canton, nor none of his folk, for I never knew the said Canton nor none of his hurt the said house nor the orchard at any time, but as an honest man and true keeper ; and so did none but only Master Hurde and the said Canton, keeper of the said orchard.

" Item, there was Master Few that brought me a gold ring for a token from Master Richard Cromwell, commanding me to deliver all the wainscot in one cell, as it stood to the said Few, saying that token should be a discharge.

" Item, for the great clock, a gentleman called Master Mins, bought it and paid for it ; and one Master Polsted did send me, William Daylle a ring off his finger commanding me to deliver the said clock, and I told him I could not come to it, for Doctor Kew had the keys of the belfry ; and so his servant delivered the said clock to Master Mins.

" Item, the said Haydon had laid up a house full of wainscot within Sir Arthur D'arcy's house, whereof he then had keeping ; and after (he) carried the same wainscot away.

" Item, the said Haydon gathered all the wood, timber, and stone, lying abroad in the Charterhouse, to the King's use as he said.

" Item, Thomas Owen found and took down 25 cases of glass, delivering them to the said Haydon for the King's use.

" Item, Thomas Owen found and took away six cisterns of lead, and delivered them to the said Haydon.

" Item, the said Thomas Owen has all the cocks of the water remaining within the same house.

" Item, the same Thomas has one of the six tables of the Frater.

" Item, Hilton in Chancery Lane has one of the said tables.

" Item, one Davidson at Paul's Wharf has one of the said tables, which he carried through the Earl of Angus' house.

" Item, all the wainscot that doth lack within the Frater was given to Master Sword-bearer of London, by Master Thacker's token.

" Item, all the wainscot, lead and glass, with all other things lacking within the three cells, in the keeping of Sir Marmduke Constable, was clean gone before his coming to them.

" Item, the wainscot lacking in the Prior's cell was four pieces, which I delivered to Thomas Owen.

" Item, I have taken down as much glass as did make and repair a dozen windows, as well within the porter's lodge as in other places within the house. As for the rest of the glass of the said house, I will depose upon a book, I never had nor knew set to any use.

" Item, all the cocks and pipes wanting within the said house were sold by Thomas Owen to divers persons, which confesses the same; and (they) were committed to his charge only, for the which also he takes his wage.

" Item, to Sir Marmaduke Constable, one cock, one pipe. To Master William Nevill, one cock, one pipe . . . (in all eight cocks and eight pipes).

" Item, the brethren of the house were licensed by the visitors to take away such things as was meet for them, as Thomas Owen and John Waner say, who took with them much of the wainscot, as then did appear. Also Doctor Bells had away the table and a pair of tressels, and the hangings, and a paper called mappa mundi.

" Item, Master Doctor Layton's servant sent away the new cupboard, and the bench, out of the drinking buttery.

" Item, Doctor Cave's servant sent away one round table forth of the said buttery, and forth of the Prior's parlour another round table.

" Item, the said visitors had all the rest of the said stuff which was in the Church of the Charterhouse, that is to say, chalices, vestments, with all other ornaments within the said Church of the Charterhouse.

" Item, the said visitors did give away four great painted tables, standing in every four corner of the Cloister of the said Charterhouse.

" Item, the said visitors sent away all the beds in the guest chambers.

" Item, the said visitors did give all the beds and books to the brethren which dwelt in the said cells.

" (Some) of the said brethren took away, through the said

gifts, certain boards of wainscot, which defaced the cells very sore within the said Charterhouse.

"Item, sir, I desire your good mastership, seeing that Master Mildmay, the King's Auditor, has sworn me, William Daylle, to show the truth of all the stuff being gone out of the Charterhouse, therefore, sir, I desire your good mastership, for the King's advantage and for your worship, to cause Gerard Haydon and Brother Richard and Thomas Owen to be sworn upon a book what things they have known go out of the Charterhouse by themselves and others; and I doubt not it shall be wholly for the King's advantage if they be true men.

"Also, Sir, I desire your mastership of your goodness to be so good unto me (as) to speak some good word for me, being a poor man which has kept the Charterhouse the space of a year and a half, and was promised of the visitors eight pence a day.

"And I the said keeper had never penny therefor but £3 6*s.* 8*d.* for the which I do lose the best yeoman's master in this realm, the which I had of truly paid £5 and three liveries by year.

"Therefore, sir, for the love of God, and in the way of charity, having no master nor wages, and my wife lying sick this twelvemonth on me, your mastership having the name (of one) that takes pity of every poor man and woman; wherefore I trust ye will have pity on me, so I can say no more to your good Mastership, but I put me in your will and mercy where I have offended you here in this book, so He that bought you save you and have you in His keeping at His pleasure at all times. Written by me

"William Daylle."

X

MS. preserved at Charterhouse. Adamus Carthusiensis. Sermones Adami Cartusiensis et aliorum. Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi. Lincolniensis Vita Ejusdem Ade, etc. Manuscript on vellum $12 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in original monastic binding of massive boards of oak covered with white deerskin and with the ancient chased clasps attached to leather thongs. On the flyleaf the inscription "Liber Domus Salutationis Matris Dei Ordinis Carthusiensis prope London."

This MS., formerly in the library of the monastery, was presented to Charterhouse by Bernard Alfred Quaritch, O.C., in 1613, a few months before his death.

Adam the Carthusian was earlier the Abbot of the Præmonstratensian Monastery of Dryburgh in Scotland, and became a Carthusian monk of Witham. This MS. of fifteenth

century date was probably transcribed by a monk, either of Charterhouse, Witham, or of London Charterhouse itself. The evidence of the MS. shows that the opinion expressed in the *Dictionary of National Biography* following earlier writers, that Adam of Eynsham, and deacon of Lincoln, a friend of St. Hugh, was the real author of this life of St. Hugh is erroneous.

APPENDIX C

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO CHARTERHOUSE IN THE MANSION PERIOD, *i.e.* FROM THE DATE OF THE SUPPRESSION TO THE DATE OF THE SALE TO THOMAS SUTTON.

I

Record office. Augmentation Office Misc. Books, vol. 235. Westminster June 12. June 34 Henry VIII. 1542. [License to John Bridges and Thomas Hale of Charterhouse for the keeping therein of the King's nets, halls [or hales, *i.e.* hunting nets] and pavilions.] Extract, the abbreviations as in the original.

Rex omnibus ad quos etc Saltm. Scietis qd nos tam p bona et salva custodia et regarda tentorior halor et pavilionm nror (sic) de tempore in tempus quarn p cunctis aliis causis nos spialit movend de gra nra spiali ex cta scientia et mero motu nris dedimus et concessimus ac p presentes damus et concedimus diltis svientibz nris Johi Bridges valect halar et tentorior nror et Thomæ Hale gromet eordem Totum domum et scitum nup domus sive Prioratus Carthusien ppe civitatem nram London dissolut ac totam eccliam campanile cimiterm cellas claustra cellaria solaria stabula ortos pomeria gardin a aquas stagna vivaria aqueductus fontes et capita eordem ac omnia alia domos ædificia tras utensilia et alias res quascunque cum ptin tam infra quam supra muros et pcint ejusdem nup domus sive Prioratus existen.

* * * * * *

Teste Rico Riche Milite apud Westm duo decimo die Junii anno regni nri tricesimo quarto [1542].

II

Record office. Patent Roll No. 752. Westminster, 14 April. 36 Henry VIII, 1545. [Grant of Charterhouse to Sir Edward North.]

EXTRACT

Omnibz ad quos etc saltm. Cum nos p lras nras patent sub magno sigillo nro

* * * * * * *

dederim et concessm diltis svieutibus Johi Bridges . . . et Thomæ Hale . . . [here follows the description of the Monastery verbatim as in Appendix C, 1]. . . .

Scietis quod nos in consideracoe boni vi fidelis et acceptabilis svicu dulcis consiliarii nri EDWARD NORTHE militis Cancellarii die cur nre Augmentat etc etc Dedimus et concessimus ac p presens damus et conced pfato Edwardo North reversiõe et reversiones domus et sit ac pdict eccli campanilis etc ac etiam tot pdict domum et situm nup domus Carthus

Ac etiam totum cimitrm eidem situi adjacen vulgarit voc The Charterhowse Churchyard [*i.e.* Square] ac totam illam capellam nram in eodem construct vel edificat.

Et etiam totam illam portam nram vulgarit voc le Westgate [*i.e.* of Charterhouse Square] situat et existen in paroch Sci Sepulchri in Suburbiis dic Civitatis ac tram fundum et solum ejusdem portæ ac omnia domos et ædificia supeaudem portam edificat.

* * * * * *

Actotam illam portam vocat Le Eastgate situat et existen in parochia Sci Botolphi extra Aldersgate. . . .

Ac etiam totum illud messuagm ten et gardm cum ptin dicto Cimitio adjacen [*i.e.* a House in Charterhouse Square] situat in parochia Sci Bothi extra Aldersgate London ac modo vel nuper in tenure sive occupac Dni Parr de Horton [*i.e.* William Parr, brother of Queen Catherine].

* * * * * *

Hend et tenend et gaudend pdic domus etc etc pfato EDWARD NORTHE hered et assign suis in ppm tenend de nobis hered et success nostr in libro burgagio dict civit nri London et non in Capite. . . .

[It is to be observed that no mention is made here of any mansion or messuage within the Monastery, such mansion having yet to be constructed.]

III

Record office. May 4th under seal of Edward VI. Sixth year (1553). [North to the Duke of Northumberland. Conveyance of Charterhouse.]

EXTRACT

Totum domum et scitum nup domus sive Prioratus ppe

Civitatem London dissolut ac * totam illam Mansionem Sive Capitalem messuagium [*i.e.* the Mansion now built, afterwards called Howard House] ac omnia ac Singula dosnos ædificia et struct nuper edificat intra Scitum Circum Circuitum Ambitum Precinctiom dict nup domus sive Prioratus Carthus. [Here follows a paragraph describing the various parts of the Mansion within the Monastery.]

* * * * * *

IV

Record office. Patent Roll 871. October 23. 1 Mary 1553 [The grant of Charterhouse back from the Queen to North after the execution of the Duke of Northumberland].

The Queen to whom etc greeting. Know ye that we in consideration of the good true faithful and acceptable services which our dear servant Edwart North Knt multiplied, offered, and performed etc . . . [Here follows the description of the Monastery as in the gift of Henry VIII to North, 1845; see Appendix C, 11.]

All which and singular the premises to our hands by the attainder of John formerly Duke of Northumberland of High Treason attainted have come and in our hands by reason of the said treason now remain. . . . [The rest follows the grant of Henry VIII in 1545, *q.v.*]

V

Lord North to Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk. [The transfer by which the Mansion became, in 1565, Howard House.] Charterhouse Muniment Room. The document need only be quoted in part to show that the words "Capitalem messuagium meum et domum mansionalem" again occur, proving that Lord North transferred to Norfolk a Mansion already built within the dissolved Monastery.

Totum illud Scitum et capitalem messuagium meum et domum Mansionalem vulgariter vocatam Le Charterhowse in Comitatu Middlesex prope civitatem London parcellam scitus et domus kuper Prioratus sive Monasterii Carthusiani vulgariter vocat Le Charterhowse nere London. Ac omnia et singula ædificia cellaria structuras solaria pomaria stagna gardina portas Crofta inclausata parietes ac cetera hereditamenta quæcunque. Ac omnia alia domus ædificia structuras a queductus pipas plumbas et alia cujusque generis etc etc . . .

* A brief portion only is quoted for the sake of showing that the words "totam illam mansionem sive capitalem mansionem," *i.e.* the new Mansion within the Monastery appears for the first time. The rest of the conveyance is practically the same as in Henry VIII to North in 1545. Appendix C, ii.

VI

Record office. Exchequer K.R. miscell. Books No. 45 : 4 April, 32 Elizabeth 1590. [The Commissioners' Survey on Philip Earl of Arundel's Attainder.] The document is full of detail which bears upon the topography of Charterhouse in the Mansion period. Portions only are quoted.

* * * * * *

A parcel of land or ground commonly called Charterhouse Churchyard with a chapel built thereon and with 24 trees growing on said ground containing by estimation 2 acres lying and being in the Parish of St. Sepulchre in Co Middx in the suburbs of the City of London.

PER ANNUM (no value given).

A certain yard called the Outer Court adjacent to said parcel of land called the Charterhouse Churchyard with buildings on each side of the Great door or first entrance [appears to be the Entrance Court] by said parcel called Charterhouse Churchyard in the said yard.

PER ANNUM 26.8.0.

A Yard called the Granary Yard with divers edifices built above together lying on the west side of the said outer court [apparently the properties covered by Charterhouse Hotel, Mews, etc.].

PER ANNUM 66.8.0.

A garden called the Granary Garden enclosed by a brick wall lying on the north part of the Granary Yard.

PER ANNUM 6.8.0.

A Capital Messuage or House called Charterhouse with 2 internal yards called Courts and with a square garden with small fountain in the middle of the same and also with 2 ambulatories below and above called the Terrace, besides a tennis court and another smaller garden on the West part of said ambulatories called the Terrace with separate houses and edifices surrounding said yards and gardens constructions and edifices and also with 2 yards one of quadrangular and the other of triangular form adjoining said edifices on South.

PER ANNUM 58.6.8.

A parcell of ground called the Backyard divided into 2 yards one larger one smaller with stables and buildings built thereon with a pond [the Monastery pond. The north wing of

pensioners' court is built across the site of it] at the north end of the longer yard. Which said yard lying in the West as well as the vacant piece of land there and the Tennis Court as well as Certain Edifices on the West side of said small garden and yard adjoining.

PER ANNUM 20.

A vacant piece of land lying in breadth between the garden in tenure of Lord North and the said large fountain garden * and the end of terrace on the South and the large orchard on the North abutting on the East common road leading from Aldersgate to Islington and on the west on the backyard above specified [the Monks' wilderness, afterwards "Under Green" of the School, now (1914) covered with buildings].

PER ANNUM 6/8.

A garden or orchard with a small house built thereon containing in it cisterns and lead pipes for distributing water brought there by pipes to the "Scaturigium" in the several offices of the Capital messuage lying between the said vacant piece of land on the South part the great brick wall on the North part abutting westerly in the gardens with a pond there [this pond was at the N.E. angle formed by Wilderness Row and Goswell Street].

PER ANNUM 26/8.

[Here follow details of various properties, including the Bowling Alley, the resort of evill-disposed persons set up by John Syncleere on the west side of the Square. Also the details of various Quills of water from the great fountain of Howard House to houses in the Square].

* * * * * *

The jury find that John Syncleere holdeth by a patent made during his lyfe by Thomas late Duke of Norfolk date 12 August 11 of the Queen's majestie (1569) that now is the keeping of the Great House called Howard House alias Charterhouse late the house of Edward Lord North with all the Gardens etc etc [shows that North had already built a mansion which he transferred to Norfolk].

The remaining clause sets forth the finding of the jury as to the attainder of Phillip late Erle of Arrundell, the forfeiture of his possessions, rents, and revenues in Charterhouse to the Crown. Also the issue of the said nobleman, Elizabeth aged 6 and Thomas aged 4.

* Once the great cloister with central conduit.

VII

Record office. Land Revenue Enrolments vol. 45 fol. B18. Patent Roll No 1564. 29 October 43 Elizabeth 1601. [Grant of Charterhouse to Lord Thomas Howard, Baron of Walden [Earl of Suffolk.]]

Extract

The Grant first sets forth the attainder of Norfolk and Arundel.

* * * * * *

For and in consideration of the last will of the Duke of Norfolk and also for the natural and paternal love which said Duke then bore for his children viz Philip then Earl of Surrey son and heir apparent of the said Duke by his wife Mary daughter and coheir of said Earl of Arundel and Lord Thomas Howard, and Lord William Howard, his younger son, and also Lady Margaret his daughter by his wife Margaret daughter and one of the heirs of Thomas Audley of Walden dead.

And in consideration etc and for the continuation of the possessions in the blood of the said Duke he the said Duke granted to said Earls of Pembroke Arundel and Leicester and William Lord Howard of Effingham and William Cecil and William Cordell Knt that they should be seized of the manors of [here follow the names of many manors in Norfolk] and of and in all that Capital Messuage then commonly called or known by the name of Howard House otherwise the late dissolved Charterhouse beside Smithfield in C°. Middx with all its appurtenances and of and in an orchard and garden to same belonging.

And of all that parcel of land near called Pardon Churchyard [still the property of Charterhouse 1914] and of 2 closes adjacent there-to called White Webech [Whitwell Beech, still the property of Charterhouse, 1914] in the C° Middx [other properties also mentioned].

To the use of said Duke and after to the use of such as by his will he should direct.

And whereas the said Duke was attainted for High Treason (1572) and whereas afterwards Philip Earl of Surrey and afterwards Earl of Arundel was likewise attainted (1589) and whereas said Thomas Lord Howard Baron of Walden levied a Fine to us and our successor of all said lands (see Feet of Fines this year 1601) know ye that for the faithful services etc of said Thomas Lord Howard Baron of Walden we have granted him by these presents . . . the said Capital Messuage called Howard

House als Charterhouse the orchard and garden etc Pardon Churchyard and White Welbech.

To him and his heirs for ever paying us yearly
822.0.0 in two annual
equal portions.

[This is the absolute grant to Lord Thomas Howard, who, from 1595–1601, had held it only in fee-farm.]

VIII

Record office. Patent Roll No. 1621 m. 30. James I. Date Feb. 1, 1603. [Grant of Charterhouse to Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk.]

Extract

A similar document, Feb. 23, 1603. The document is a re-affirmation of James in the first year of his reign of the grant by Elizabeth. It sets forth again all the properties as mentioned in that grant and concludes "in as ample and full a way as his ancestors or progenitors Thomas Duke of Norfolk and Philip Earl of Arundel had the same."

IX

Record office. Patents Roll No. 1934. No. 6. Abstract 22 June, 9 James I, 1611. [Grant to Thomas Sutton to found a Hospital and School at the Charterhouse which he had lately bought from Thomas Earl of Suffolk.]

Extract

The letters patent are of great length and there is much reiteration. They are printed in full in *Charterhouse, Past and Present* (Dr. Haig Brown). A résumé only is here given of the most important clauses.

The deed sanctions the transfer of the proposed Hospital from Hallingbury to a great and large mansion house commonly called the late dissolved Charterhouse beside Smithfield with license to found an Hospitall and free School. It gives power to incorporate a body of Governors who are to have perpetual succession for ever in fact deed and name. The hospitall, house, or place of abiding to be for the finding Sustentation and relief of poore aged maimed needy or impotent people . . . the Free School for the instructing teaching maintenance and education of poor children or scholars. The nomination of such persons to be in the hands of Thomas Sutton during his life time and of the Governors after his death. The list of the first Governors

is given. The foundation to be known as the Hospital of King James founded in Charter-house within the County of Middlesex at the humble petition and only costs and charges of Thomas Sutton Esquire. The Founder to name, during his life, the Master, Preacher, Schoolmaster, Usher, Members officer and officers of the Hospital. The Governors to do the same after his death, with complete power to displace any or all of the said officers, poor people, scholars, members etc. The place to be extra-diocesan [as it remains to this day 1914]. The list of estates with which the Hospital is endowed is given—to wit. Charterhouse itself with all the belongings as purchased from Thomas Earl of Suffolk. The manors and lordships of Southminster, [Cold] Norton, Little Hallingbury, alias Hallingbury Bouchers and Much Stambridge in the County of Essex. Bustingthorpe alias Buslingthorp and Dunnesby in the County of Lincoln. Salthorp alias Saltrop alias Halthrop, Chilton and Blachgrove in the County of Wilts. Appurtenances of Blachgrove in Wroughton. The manor of Missenden in Wroughton, Lydyerde and Tregose: the mannor of Elcombe and Parke, called Elcombe Parke: the mannor of Wattlescote, alias Wiglescete, alias Wigelscote. The Mannor of Westcote alias Wescete: the Mannor of Uffcote: his lands and farms in Broadhinton: all in the County of Wilts: The Mannors of Campes alias Castle Campes: and of Balsham in Cambs: his messuages and lands in Hackney and Tottenham in Middlesex (except his mannors of Littlebury and Hadstoche in Essex).

Especial provision is made that in the filling of advowsons left by him the Governors shall give preference if possible to Scholars Educated on his Foundation.

X

The will of Thomas Sutton [extracts].

The will is printed in full by Hearne, Bearcroft, Smythe, and Haig Brown. The legacies amount to £12,110 17*s.* 8*d.*, the residue of all his goods, chattels, and possessions being left to his Foundation. A selection only of the legacies is here given.

10£ each to the children of Richard Coxe, late Bishop of Ely (once Headmaster of Eton).

100£ to the children of Eleanor wife of Robert Aske of Aughton, Yorks.

100 marks to the poor of Berwick-on-Tweed.

10£ to the poor of Stoke Newington.

40£ to Mr. Gray, dwelling in Yorkshire, sometime servant to Ambrose Earl of Warwick, or to his Children.

10£ to the Children of Henry Tutty late gunner in Berwick.

300£ to [his nephew] Simon Baxter or to his children.

500 marks to Francis Baxter or to his children.

£13 6*s*. 8*d*. to each of his men servants and his cook. 5 marks to each maid and 10£ to the Children of Reynold Tomps his late servant.

100£ to the Fishermen of Ostend.

26. 13. 4 to the mending of the roads between Islington and Newington.

100£ to the mending of Walden Lane between Ashden and Walden in Essex.

66£ 13. 4 to the amending the road between Walden and Great Lynton in Cambs.

60£ to the amending of Horseheath Lane in Cambs.

100£ to the amending of the bridges and highways between Southminster and Maldon in Essex.

30£ (remission of a debt) to Alderman Robert Dudley of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

1000£ to the Chamber of the city of London for the purpose of lending annually to ten young men free of interest for use in their trade, to be chosen by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and the Dean of St. Pauls.

2000 marks to Sir Francis Popham knt husband of his stepdaughter Ann Dudley (with special reserves and explanations).

200£ to Amy Popham on her marriage, or reaching the age of 18.

On like condition 100£ apiece to Francis, Mary, Elizabeth Jane and Ann, the five daughters of his stepdaughter Lady Ann Popham (with important reserves conditions and explanations).

To Amy Popham if it please God she live to keep house, 3 feather beds, 3 pair of Holland Sheets with the bolsters to them and so many hangings of tapestry as furnish her a bedchamber.

He appoints Richard Sutton of London Esquire and John Law one of the Procurators of Arches his Executors.

He appoints George Abbott Archbishop of Canterbury overseer of his will with a legacy of 40£ or a piece of plate of that value at his choice.

He appoints Launcelot Andrews, King's Almoner his other overseer with a legacy of 20£ or a piece of plate of equal value.

He inserts a clause by which any person who impugns or contests the will, shall forfeit any legacy or advantage from it.

100£ to Richard Sutton (his executor).

20£ to John Hutton, vicar of Littlebury (the first Master of Charterhouse).

10£ to the poor of Elcomb.

He bequeaths the Manors of Littlebury and Hadstock to Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, for a consideration of 10,000£. If the bequest is declined, the manors to be sold for the benefit of the Hospital.

To Sir Henry Hubberd (Hobart) the Attorney General a piece of plate value 10£: To Mr Locksmith his clerk the sum of ten pounds.

40£ to Jeffery Nightingale Esq. (one of the Governors).

100 marks to his Cousin William Stapleton son of Sir Richard Stapleton, Knt.

10£ to Thomas Brown (one of the Governors) to make him a ring.

200£ to John Law (his executor) one of the Procurators of the Arches.

20£ to the poor of Hadstock.

20£ to the poor of Littlebury and of Balsham.

20£ to buy a bell for Balsham Steeple.

20£ to the poor of Southminster.

20£ to the poor of Little Hallingbury.

20£ to the poor of Dunsby.

200£ to the poor prisoners of Ludgate, Newgate, the two Compters in London, the Kings Bench and the Marshalsea.

500 marks to the Corporation of Jesus College Cambridge.

500 marks to the Corporation of Magdalen College Cambridge.

5000£ to the building of his intended hospital, chappel and school house, if he does not live to see it performed in his lifetime.

Profits arising from his interest in land at Cottingham Yorks to the poor of Beverley: and the profits from the parsonage of Glentham Lincoln to the poor of Lincoln.

1000£ to the treasury of his intended Hospital to begin their stock.

10£ to the poor of Hacknew.

To Sir Edward Phillips Master of the Rolls a piece of plate value 10£.

To Sir James Altham, one of the Barons of the exchequer a piece of plate value 20£.

400£ to the Earl of Suffolk.

Signed by the Testator the 28th November 1611 in presence of John Law, Leonard Houghton, Alexander Longworth, Thomas Hall, Richard Pearce (his mark) Thomas Johnson (his mark). Idem recognitum per testatorem Coram Jo, Crooke quarto Decembus 1611 recognit to be the testator's last will. Before me Henry Thoresby.

XI

Extract from copy of document in Charterhouse Muniment Room headed, " By the charge and receipts of Sir Richard Sutton the Surviving Executor of Mr Sutton his personal estate stood thus " :—

* * * * * *

Item. In gifts to Sir Francis Bacon Ld Chancellor and his officers (including a present of a piece of plate to Sir Henry Mountaine Ld Chief Justice value £20 18. 0 in the suit of Sir Francis Popham in Chancery 632. 19. 6.

This entry refers to a Suit in Chancery brought in Feb. 1616 by Sir Francis Popham (husband of Ann, Sutton's stepdaughter) against Sutton's executors, claiming the lands at Tottenham. The Suit was dismissed on July 6, 1618. At the time of its commencement Bacon was Attorney-General. He became Lord Keeper, March 7, 1617, and Lord Chancellor, July 12, 1618.

XII

The Founder's Tomb

The subjoined particulars of the Founder's Tomb, bearing date 1613, are attached to a covenant undertaking to do the work for £350. The signatures are Nicholas Johnson (Jansen) *alias* Garrett of Southwarke, Tomb-maker, and Edmund Kinesman of London, Citizen and Freeman.

For the enrichinge within the Arch . . .	6 . 0 . 0
For the two captaines sittinge *	10 . 0 . 0
For the four Capitalls	10 . 0 . 0
For his picture and crest † att his feete . . .	10 . 0 . 0
For the two boys Labour and Rest . . .	6 . 0 . 0
For the two pellasters carved three sides apiece .	6 . 0. 0
For the three pictures,‡ Faith, Hope and Charitie .	15 . 0 . 0
For the Armes	6 . 0 . 0
For the two Capitalls	3 . 0 . 0
For the storye § over the Cornishe . . .	10 . 0 . 0
For enrichinge under the Cornishe . . .	3 . 0 . 0
For the two death's heads ‖ and one cherubims head	5 . 0 . 0

* The above must be regarded as a previous estimate, not as an account, seeing that many details have evidently been altered in the execution. The captaines—bearers—are standing, not sitting.

† There is no crest at the foot of the Founder's figure.

‡ Pictures = coloured statues.

§ The storye is the bas relief of the preacher and the brothers.

‖ This part of the design has been altered. There is one death's head between two figures of life and time.

For roses and other flowers and enrichinge . .	6 . 0 . 0
For paynting and gildinge	20 . 0 . 0
For carryinge the worke, and settinge with cramps of iron, lyne, and bricks	10 . 0 . 0
For working of the masonry in alablaster . .	50 . 0 . 0
For working the six columnes	15 . 0 . 0
For sawing the hard stone	10 . 0 . 0
For working and pollishinge five rance pellasters .	10 . 0 . 0
For working and pollishinge the lover of rance .	8 . 0 . 0
For workinge, rubbinge, and pollishinge all the tables both of rance * and touch † . . .	10 . 0 . 0
For sixty foote of rance at 10' a foote . . .	30 . 0 . 0
For eighty foote of touch	40 . 0 . 0
For nine loads of alablaster at 6£ a loade with the carryage.	54 . 0 . 0
For workinge and pollishinge the ledger . .	10 . 0 . 0
For thirty foote of pace at 2 . 6 a foote . .	3 . 15 . 0
	366 . 15 . 0

The following is the receipt of Jansen and Stone in Sir John Soanes' museum:—

"In May 1615 Mr Janson in Southwark and I did set up a tombe for Mr Sottone at Charter Hous for the wich we had 400£ well payed but the letell monement of Mr Lawes was included the wich I mad and all the carven work of Mr Sutton's Tombe."

Another receipt, signed by Nicholas Johnson, Edmund Kinesman, and Nicholas Stone, date Nov. 24, 1615, is quoted at full length in Dr. Haig Brown's *Charterhouse, Past and Present.*

The original design of the Founder's figure was in full armour, for which the drawing exists in the Muniment Room.

* Rance = yellow marble. † Touch = black marble.

APPENDIX D

I

Masters of Sutton's Hospital from the date of the Foundation to the present time :—

1. Rev John Hulton, M.A., 1611.
2. Rev. Andrew Perne, M.A., 1614.
3. Rev. Peter Hooker, B.D., 1615.
4. Francis Beaumont, Esq., 1617.
5. Rev. Sir Robert Dallington, M.A., 1624.
6. George Garrard, Esq., M.A., 1627.
7. Edward Cressett, Esq., 1650.
8. Sir Ralph Sydenham, 1660.
9. Martin Clifford, Esq., 1671.
10. Hon. William Erskine, 1677.
11. Rev. Thomas Burnet, B.D., 1685.
12. Rev. John King, D.D., 1715.
13. Nicholas Mann, Esq., 1737.
14. Rev. Philip Bearcroft, D.D., 1753.
15. Rev. Samuel Salter, D.D., 1761.
16. Rev. William Ramsden, D.D., 1778.
17. Rev. Philip Fisher, D.D., 1804.
18. Ven. Archdeacon William Hale Hale, M.A., 1842.
19. Rev. George Currey, D.D., 1872.
20. Rev. Richard Elwyn, M.A., 1885.
21. Rev. William Haig Brown, LL.D., 1897.
22. Rev. George Edward Jelf, D.D., 1907.
23. Rev. Gerald Stanley Davies, M.A., 1908.

II

Preachers of Sutton's Hospital from the date of the Foundation :—

1. Mr. Hartneys, 1613.
2. Anthony Parker, 1616, expelled.
3. William Ford, B.D., 1618, removed, being a married man.

4. Percival Burrell, M.A., 1619.
5. William Middleton, A.M., 1628.
6. * Daniel Toutville, M.A., 1630.

[7A. * Thomas Foxeley.]

7B. Peter Clarke, M.A., 1643.

8. William Adderley, M.A., 1645, during pleasure.
9. † George Griffith, M.A., with a patent for life.
10. Timothy Shircross, D.D., 1661.
11. John Patrick, D.D., 1671.
12. John King, D.D., 1695.
13. Emanuel Langford, D.D., 1715.
14. Philip Bearcroft, D.D., 1724.
15. Samuel Salter, D.D., 1754.
16. John Nichols, D.D., 1761.
17. Thomas Sanisbury, A.M., 1774.
18. William Lloyd, M.A., 1787.
19. Wilfred Clarke, M.A., 1809.
20. James Currey, M.A., 1812.
21. William Hale Hale, M.A., 1823.
22. Henry Burgess Whitaker Churton, M.A., 1842.
23. Folliott Baugh, M.A., 1844.
24. George Currey, D.D., 1849.
25. Henry Vincent Le-Bas, M.A., 1871.
26. Wm. Francis John Romanis, M.A., 1910.
27. Alexander Ramsbotham, M.A., 1912.

III

Schoolmasters (Headmasters) since the Foundation :—

1. Nicholas Grey, 1614.
2. Robert Grey, 1624.
3. William Middleton, M.A., 1626.
4. ‡Robert Brooke, 1628.
5. Samuel Wilson, 1643.
6. John Boncle or Bunkley, 1651.

* In 1642 Daniel Toutville was sequestered by Parliament, who appointed a Godly preacher, one Thomas Foxeley, in his place. The Governors refused to confirm the appointment because Foxeley was married : " We houlding yt most juste to keepe and maintain the ordinances of this House made with soe great judgement : and the Executors of the Founder being parties thereto whoo knew his intent and direcion."

† George Griffith was married, and his wife was allowed to live in Charterhouse. The fact marks the change which had taken place in the Assembly of Governors.

‡ Robert Brooke was expelled by an order of Parliament. He was allowed to return and occupy rooms in Charterhouse at the Restoration.

7. Norris Wood, 1654.
8. Thomas Watson, 1662.
9. Thomas Walker, LL.D., 1679.
10. Andrew Tooke, A.M., 1728.
11. James Hotchkis, 1731.
12. Lewis Crusius, D.D., 1748.
13. Samuel Berdmore, D.D., 1769.
14. Matthew Raine, D.D., 1791.
15. John Russell, D.D., 1811.
16. Augustus Page Saunders, D.D., 1832
17. Edward Elder, D.D., 1853.
18. Richard Elwyn, M.A., 1858.
19. William Haig Brown, LL.D., 1863.
20. Gerald Henry Rendall, LL.D., 1897
21. Frank Fletcher, M.A., 1911.

IV

Registrars since the Foundation :—

1. Thomas Hayward, 1612.
2. Samuel Martyn, 1627.
3. John Brent, 1643, removed.
4. Edward Cressett, 1656.
5. John Holled, 1651.
6. William Taylour, 1654.
7. William Massey, 1666.
8. —— Spelman, 1669.
9. —— Lightfoot, 1674.
10. William Hempson, 1699.
11. Conway Whithorn, 1739.
12. Thomas Melmoth, 1741.
13. Henry Sayer, 1767.
14. Thomas Ryder, 1789.
15. Thomas Gatty, 1835.
16. Archibald Keightley, 1838.
17. Harry Wilmot Lee, 1877.
18. Arthur Melmoth Walters, 1910.

V

List of Governors of Sutton's Hospital since the Foundation.

[All the Sovereigns of England with their Consorts, also Oliver Cromwell, Protector, have been Governors of Charterhouse, but (except the Protector) have taken no part in the administration. They nominated both Brothers and Scholars up to 1872, and Brothers only since that date.]

First Governors—nominated by Thomas Sutton.

1611 George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Thomas, Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor.
Robert, Earl of Salisbury.
John King, Bishop of London.
Launcelot Andrews, Bishop of Ely.
Sir Edward Coke, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of England.
Sir Thomas Foster, Knight.
Sir Henry Hobart, Knight and Baronet, Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas.
John Overall, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's.
George Montaigne, Dean of Westminster.
Henry Thursby, Esq.
Geoffrey Nightingale, Esq.
Richard Sutton, Esq.
John Lawe, Esq.
Thomas Browne, Esq.
Rev. John Hutton, M.A., Master of Charterhouse.

1612 Henry Earl of Northampton.
Sir James Altham, Knight, one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

1614 William Earl of Pembroke.
Rev. Andrew Perne, M.A. (Master).
William Byrde, D.C.L.

1615 Lewis Proud, Esq.
Rev. Peter Hooker, B.D. (Master).

1616 Edward Earl of Worcester.

1617 Sir Francis Moore, Knight.
Sir John Doddridge, Knight.
Francis Beaumont, Esq. (Master).

1619 Francis, Lord Verulam, Lord Chancellor.
Valentine Cary, D.D., Dean of Westminster, Bishop of St. Asaph.

1621 John Williams, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's; afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper, Archbishop of York.
Sir Henry Montagu, Viscount Mandeville.
Sir Thomas Coventry, Knight.

1624 Robert Dallington, Clerk (Master).
Sir Henry Martyn, Knight.

1625 Sir Robert Heath, Knight, afterwards Lord Chief Justice of England.

1626 John Donne, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's.
John Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester.

1628 Philip, Earl of Montgomery.
Sir Ranulph Crewe, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of England.
William Laud, Bishop of London; afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

1630 Richard Lord Weston.
Thomas Winiffe, D.D., Dean of Westminster.
Dudley Viscount Dorchester.
1631 Sir Thomas Edmonds, Knight.
1632 Henry Earl of Holland.
1633 William Juxon, Bishop of London; afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.
1634 Matthew Wren, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's; afterwards Bishop of Ely.
Edward Littleton, Esq.; afterwards Lord Littleton, Lord Keeper.
1635 Sir John Coke, Knight.
1638 George Garrard, Esq. (Master).
1639 Sir John Bankes, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas.
1640 Sir John Finch, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas.
1641 Robert Earl of Warwick.
Robert Earl of Essex.
1642 Sir Rowland Wandesford, Knight.
1643 Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland.
1644 William Earl of Salisbury.
1645 Edward Earl of Manchester.
John Glynn, Esq., Lord Chief Justice of England.
Oliver St. John, Esq., Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas.
John Lord Roberts of Truro.
Edward Lord Howard (of Escricke).
Sir Edmond Reeve, Knight.
John Selden, Esq.
Samuel Browne, Esq.
1646 William Lenthall, Esq. (Speaker of the Long Parliament).
1647 Peter Phesant, Esq.
1650 Philip Lord Lisle.
Sir William Armyn, Knight and Baronet.
Sir Henry Vane, Jun., Knight.
Rt. Hon. Bulstrode Whitelocke, Lord Keeper.
Rt. Hon. John Bradshaw.
Thomas Lord Fairfax.
Edward Cressett, Esq. (Master).
His Excellency, Oliver Cromwell.
John Gordon, Esq.
1651 John Lisle, Esq.
Charles Fleetwood, Esq.
1652 Lawrence Wright, D.M.
Sir Arthur Hesilrigge, Baronet.
1653 Sir John Wollaston, Knight.

1654 Major-General Philip Skippon.
1656 Rt. Hon. Nathaniel Fiennes.
1657 Rt. Hon. John Thurloe.
1658 Lord Richard Cromwell.
1659 Philip Lord Jones.
1660 Edward Earl of Manchester (for the second time).
Edward Lord Howard of Escricke (for the second time).
John Lord Roberts of Truro (for the second time).
Samuel Browne, Esq. (for the second time).
Algernon Earl of Northumberland (for the second time).
Sir Ralph Sydenham, Knight (Master).
Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely (for the second time).
1661 Edward Lord Hurdon.
Thomas Earl of Southampton.
Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London.
Sir Orlando Bridgman, Knight and Baronet, Lord Keeper.
1662 Anthony Lord Ashley; afterwards Lord Chancellor, Earl of Shaftesbury.
George (Monk) Duke of Albemarle.
1663 George Morley, Bishop of Winchester.
1667 Henry Lord Arlington.
Humphrey Hinchman, Bishop of London.
Sir Jeffrey Palmer, Knight and Baronet, Attorney-General.
1668 Sir William Wylde, Knight and Baronet.
William Earl of Craven.
Benjamin Laney, Bishop of Ely.
1669 George Duke of Buckingham.
1670 John Earl of Bridgwater.
1671 John Duke of Ormonde.
Martin Clifford, Esq. (Master); "Buffoon," *i.e.* Cup-bearer to Charles II.
1674 Heneage Lord Finch, Lord Keeper; afterwards Lord Chancellor and Earl of Nottingham.
James Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch.
Thomas Earl of Danby, Prime Minister.
1675 Rt. Hon. Henry Coventry.
John Dolben, Bishop of Rochester.
1677 Hon. William Erskine (Master).
Henry Compton, Bishop of London.
William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury.
1682 Sir Francis North, Knight; afterwards Lord Guildford, Lord Chancellor.
1683 George Marquis of Halifax.
1684 Henry Duke of Beaufort.
1685 Rev. Thomas Burnet, LL.D. (Master).

Lawrence Earl of Rochester.
Henry Earl of Clarendon.
Robert Earl of Ailesbury.
George, Lord Jeffreys, Lord Chancellor.
John Earl of Mulgrave.
1686 Robert Earl of Sunderland.
Peter Mews, Bishop of Winchester.
1687 George Earl of Berkelye.
Daniel Earl of Nottingham.
1688 James Duke of Ormonde.
1689 Sir John Holt, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of England.
Charles (Talbot) Earl of Shrewsbury; afterwards Duke of Shrewsbury.
1693 John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury.
1695 Sir John Somers, Knight, Lord Keeper; afterwards Lord Somers, Lord Chancellor.
Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury.
1697 Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.
William Marquis of Halifax.
1698 Sir George Treby, Knight, Attorney-General.
1700 Sir Nathan Wright, Lord Keeper.
John Viscount Lonsdale.
John Earl of Bridgwater.
1701 Simon Patrick, Bishop of Ely.
Sir Edward Ward, Knight, Attorney-General.
1707 William Earl Cowper, Lord Chancellor.
Sidney Earl Godolphin, Prime Minister.
1709 Charles Duke of Somerset.
1710 John Moore, Bishop of Ely; afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.
1711 Sir Simon Harcourt, Knight; afterwards Lord Harcourt, Lord Chancellor.
1713 Robert Earl of Oxford.
William Earl of Dartmouth.
John Robinson, Bishop of London.
1714 Sir Thomas Parker, Knight; afterwards Lord Parker, Lord Chancellor, then Earl of Macclesfield.
Jonathan Trelawney, Bishop of Winchester.
1715 Rev. John King, D.D. (Master).
1716 H.R.H. George Prince of Wales.
William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Charles Earl of Sunderland; afterwards Prime Minister.
1717 Sir Peter King, Knight; afterwards Lord King, Lord Chancellor.
1721 James Duke of Chandos.
William Talbot, Bishop of Durham.
Thomas Duke of Newcastle.

1722 Sir Robert Eyre, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.
1723 Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London.
Charles Viscount Townsend.
1724 Rt. Hon. Robert Walpole, Prime Minister.
1727 Thomas Lord Trevor.
William Duke of Devonshire.
1729 Richard Earl of Scarborough.
1730 Sir Robert Raymond, Attorney-General; afterwards Lord Raymond.
Lionel Duke of Dorset.
1732 Spencer Earl of Wilmington.
1733 William Lord Harrington.
Sir Philip Yorke, Knight, Lord Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor.
1734 Charles Duke of Grafton.
1736 Charles Lord Talbot, Lord Chancellor.
1737 William Duke of Devonshire.
John Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Nicholas Mann (Master).
1738 Sir Joseph Jekyll, Knight.
Henry Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.
1740 Charles Duke of Richmond.
1743 Sir William Lee, Knight.
1744 Rt. Hon. Henry Pelham, Prime Minister.
1745 Sir John Willes, Knight, Attorney-General.
1748 John Duke of Bedford.
1749 Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of London.
1750 John Earl Gower.
Charles Duke of Marlborough.
1751 John Earl of Sandwich.
1753 Rev. Philip Bearcroft, D.D. (Master).
1754 John Earl of Granville.
Robert Earl of Holderness.
1755 George Admiral Lord Anson.
1756 John Duke of Rutland.
1757 William Duke of Devonshire.
Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of Canterbury Elect.
Granville Levison, Earl Gower.
1758 Thomas Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury.
William Lord Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice of England.
1761 Robert Lord Henley, Lord Chancellor; afterwards Earl Northington.
Rev. Samuel Salter, D.D. (Master).
1762 John Earl of Bute, Prime Minister.
Richard Osbaldeston, Bishop of London.
Charles Earl of Egremont.

Charles Marquis of Rockingham; afterwards Prime Minister.
1764 Rt. Hon. George Grenville.
George Earl of Halifax.
George Duke of Marlborough.
1765 Richard Terrick, Bishop of London.
1768 Charles Lord Camden; afterwards Lord Chancellor.
1769 Frederick Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury.
1770 Augustus Henry Duke of Grafton, Prime Minister.
1771 Frederic Lord North, Prime Minister.
William Henry, Earl of Rochford.
1772 Henry Lord Apsley.
1777 Henry Earl of Suffolk.
1778 Thomas Viscount Weymouth.
Rev. William Ramsden, D.D. (Master).
1779 Robert Lowth, Bishop of London.
Edward, Lord Thurlow, Lord Chancellor.
1781 William Earl of Dartmouth.
1783 Thomas Lord Sydney.
John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury.
1787 Rt. Hon. William Pitt, Prime Minister.
1792 Beilby Porteus, Bishop of London.
William Wyndham, Lord Grenville; afterwards Prime Minister.
1793 Alexander Lord Loughborough, Lord Chancellor.
1794 Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas; afterwards Lord Melville.
Lloyd Lord Kenyon, Lord Chief Justice of England.
1796 John Frederick, Duke of Dorset.
William Henry Cavendish, Duke of Portland; afterwards Prime Minister.
1799 John Earl of Chatham.
1800 George John, Earl Spencer.
1802 John Lord Eldon, Lord Chancellor.
1803 Rt. Hon. Henry Addington, Prime Minister.
Edward Lord Ellenborough, Lord Chief Justice of England.
1804 Rev. Philip Fisher, B.D. (Master).
1805 Charles Manners Sutton, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Robert Banks, Lord Hawkesbury; afterwards Lord Liverpool, Prime Minister.
1806 Rt. Hon. Charles James Fox.
Thomas Lord Erskine, Lord Chancellor.
Rt. Hon. William Wyndham.
1809 Charles Earl Grey; afterwards Prime Minister.
John Randolph, Bishop of London.
1810 Rt. Hon. Spencer Perceval, Prime Minister.
1811 John Jefferies, Earl Camden.

Francis Earl Moira.
1812 Edward Venables Vernon, Archbishop of York.
1814 Dudley Earl of Harrowby.
1817 William Howley, Bishop of London; afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.
1819 John Earl of Westmoreland.
1823 Rt. Hon. George Canning; afterwards Prime Minister.
1827 Rt. Hon. Robert Peel; afterwards Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister.
Frederick John, Viscount Goderich, Prime Minister.
1828 Arthur Duke of Wellington, Prime Minister.
1829 John Singleton, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Chancellor.
1834 Charles James Blomfield, Bishop of London.
1835 Sir Charles Manners Sutton, Baronet.
Sir Nicholas Conyngham Tindal, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas.
1838 Charles Christopher Lord Cottenham, Lord Chancellor.
1840 William Viscount Melbourne, Prime Minister.
1842 James Archibald Lord Wharncliffe.
Ven. William Hale Hale, M.A. (Master).
1844 Richard William Penn, Earl Howe.
1845 Walter Francis Duke of Buccleugh and Queensberry, K.G.
William Earl of Devon.
1846 Charles Cecil Cope, Earl of Liverpool, G.C.B.
Lord John Russell, Prime Minister; Earl Russell in 1861.
1847 Edward Copleston, Bishop of Llandaff, Dean of St. Paul's.
1848 Thomas Lord Denman, Lord Chief Justice of England.
John Bird Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Thomas Musgrave, Archbishop of York.
1849 Henry Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord President of the Council.
1850 Rt. Hon. Fox Maule, Secretary at War; Lord Panmure in 1852, Lord Dalhousie in 1860.
1851 Sir Cresswell Cresswell, Knight, a Justice of the Common Pleas.
Thomas, Lord Truro, Lord Chancellor.
1852 Edward Geoffrey, Earl of Derby, Prime Minister.
1854 George Earl of Aberdeen, Prime Minister.
1855 Robert Monsey, Lord Cranworth, Lord Chancellor.
1858 Dudley Earl of Harrowby.
1859 Archibald Campbell Tait, Bishop of London, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1869.
Sir George James Turner, Knight, a Lord Justice of the Court of Appeal in Chancery.
1860 Charles Earl of Romney.

1861 Charles Thomas Longley, Archbishop of York, of Canterbury in 1862.
1863 Henry John Viscount Palmerston, Prime Minister.
William Reginald Earl of Devon.
William Thomson, Archbishop of York.
Frederic Lord Chelmsford, Lord Chancellor.
1866 Rt. Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, Prime Minister.
1867 Sir William Erle, Knight, a Justice of Common Pleas.
1869 John Jackson, Bishop of London.
William Page, Lord Hatherley, Lord Chancellor.
1870 John Winston, Duke of Marlborough.
Hugh MacCalmont, Lord Cairns, Lord Chancellor; afterwards Earl Cairns.
1872 Rev. George Currey, D.D. (Master).
1874 Roundell (Palmer) Lord Selborne, formerly Lord Chancellor.
1874 Adelbert Wellington Brownlow, Earl Brownlow.
1878 Anthony Wilson Thorold, Bishop of Rochester; afterwards of Winchester.
1879 Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield.
1880 Charles Duke of Richmond and Gordon, K.G.
1881 Gathorne (Hardy) Viscount Cranbrook, G.C.S.I.
1881 John Gilbert Talbot, Esq., M.P. for Oxford.
1883 John Duke, Lord Coleridge, Lord Chief Justice of England.
1883 Edward White (Benson), Archbishop of Canterbury.
Granville George, Earl of Granville.
1884 John Rogerson, Lord Rollo.
1885 Frederick (Temple), Archbishop of Canterbury.
Charles Henry Rolle, Lord Clinton.
Canon Richard Elwyn, M.A. (Master).
1887 William Walsham How, Bishop of Bedford.
1888 Hugh Lupus Duke of Westminster, K.G.
1889 Henry Howard Molyneux, Earl of Carnarvon, P.C., D.C.L.
1891 Robert Arthur Talbot, Marquis of Salisbury, I.C.G., P.C., D.C.L., Prime Minister.
Charles Cecil John, Duke of Rutland, K.G.
William Connor, Bishop of Peterborough, Archbishop Elect of York.
Richard Assheton, Viscount Cross, G.C., G.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.
William Dalrymple (Maclagan), Archbishop of York.
1894 Charles Lindley, Viscount Halifax.
1896 Sir Richard Everard Webster, Attorney-General; afterwards Lord Chief Justice of England, Viscount Alverstone.

Randall Thomas (Davidson), Bishop of Winchester; afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.
1897 Mandell (Creighton), Bishop of London.
Canon William Haig Brown, LL.D. (Master).
1901 Arthur Foley (Winnington-Ingram), Bishop of London.
Frederic Sleigh Earl Roberts, K.G., K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.J.E., V.C., Field Marshal.
1903 William George Spenser Scott, Marquis of Northampton.
William Earl of Stamford.
Stuart Bishop of Rochester; Bishop of Southwark, 1905.
Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb.
1904 James Edward Hubert, Marquis of Salisbury.
1906 John Compton Lawrance, Judge of King's Bench.
1907 Rev. George Edward Jelf, D.D. (Master).
1908 Rev. Gerald Stanley Davies, M.A. (Master).
1910 William St. John, Viscount Midleton.
Cosmo Gordon (Lang), Archbishop of York.
1911 Sir Henry Seymour King, K.C.I.E.
1913 Sir Ernest Murray Pollock, K.C., M.P.
1914 Edgar Charles Sumner (Gibson), Bishop of Gloucester.
James Viscount Bryce, O.M.
1915 Paul Sandford, Baron Methuen, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., C.M.G.
1916 Thomas Ethelbert Page, Litt. D.
1921 Viscount Peel.

VI

The Governing Body of the School from 1872:

1872 Archibald Campbell, Archbishop of Canterbury.
William Archbishop of York.
Walter Duke of Buccleugh and Queensberry, K.G.
William Reginald Earl of Devon.
Charles Marsham, Earl of Romney.
Dudley Earl of Harrowby, K.G.
Frederick Lord Chelmsford.
The Rev. C. J. Vaughan, D.D., Master of the Temple.
The Rev. George Currey, D.D., Master of Charterhouse.
The Hon. Justice George Denman, M.P.
The Rev. Professor Palmer, Archdeacon of Oxford.
Professor Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb.
George Busk, Esq., F.R.S.
P. M. Duncan, Esq., F.R.S.
Gordon Whitbread, Esq.
1874 John Bishop of London.
1876 Rev. E. W. Blore, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.
1878 Roundell Lord Selborne.

1880 Richard Everard (Webster), Lord Chief Justice of England, Viscount Alverstone.
1882 Samuel Chichester, Lord Carlingford, Lord Privy Seal.
Edward White (Benson), Archbishop of Canterbury.
1883 John Gilbert Talbot, M.P., Privy Councillor.
1884 Anthony Wilson (Thorold), Bishop of Winchester.
1885 Frederick (Temple), Archbishop of Canterbury.
Canon Richard Elwyn, M.A., Master of Charterhouse.
Herbert Clifford Saunders, Q.C.
1886 George Carey Foster, F.R.S.
1887 Schomberg, Henry, Marquis of Lothian, K.T., L.S.D.
1889 Rt. Hon. Sir John Ferguson Bowen, G.C.M.G.
John Duke, Baron Coleridge, Lord Chief Justice.
1890 Frederick Earl Beauchamp.
1891 John Rogerson, Lord Rollo.
Sir Edward Fry, Lord Justice.
John Whittaker Hulke, F.R.S., F.R.C.S.
Rev. Lancelot Ridley Phelps, Oriel College, Oxon.
1893 Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb, D.C.L., LL.D.
1894 Schomberg, Henry, Marquis of Lothian.
George Henry Darwin, F.R.S.
1895 Randall Thomas Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury.
1896 Reginald Walter Macan, LL.D., Master of University College, Oxon.
1897 Mandell (Creighton), Bishop of London.
Frederick (Temple), Archbishop of Canterbury.
Canon William Haig-Brown, LL.D., Master of Charterhouse.
1900 William Dalrymple (Maclagan), Archbishop of York.
1901 Arthur Foley (Winnington-Ingram), Bishop of London.
George Carey Foster, F.R.S.
1902 Sir Oliver Lodge, Principal of Birmingham University.
Professor Charles Scott Sherrington.
1903 Herbert Edward (Ryle), Bishop of Winchester.
1905 John Alderson Foote, K.C.
1906 Sir Lawrence Nunns Guillemard, C.B., Deputy Chairman, Inland Revenue.
1907 Canon Reginald St. John Parry, Dean of Trinity College, Cambridge.
Professor Ernest Arthur Gardner, M.A.
George Edward Jelf, D.D., Master of Charterhouse.
William St. John Fremantle, Viscount Midleton.
1908 Professor Sir William Tilden, F.R.S.
1909 Rev. Gerald Stanley Davies, M.A., Master of Charterhouse.
1910 Sir Kenneth Augustus Muir Mackenzie, K.C., K.C.B.
Cosmo Gordon (Lang), Archbishop of York.
1912 Arthur Foley (Winnington-Ingram), Bishop of London.
Thomas Ethelbert Page, Litt.D.

APPENDIX E

I

Some Distinguished Carthusians since the Foundation up to 1872

This list consists almost entirely of those whose names are recorded in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Scholars on the Foundation are marked with an asterisk (*). Living Carthusians are mentioned only in cases where they were at Charterhouse in London.

The dagger (†) before a name implies a Scholar on the Foundation ("Gownboy").

Addison, Joseph, 1672–1719. Author.
Alderson, Sir Edward Hall, 1787–1857. Senior Wrangler, First Smith's Prizeman, Chancellor's Medallist, Judge.
Alverstone, Richard Everard Webster, 1842–1916. First Viscount Alverstone, Lord Chief Justice of England.
Armstrong, John, 1813–56. Bishop of Grahamstown.
Arnould, Sir Joseph, 1814–86. Chief Justice of Bombay, Writer.
Ashurst, William Henry, 1725–1807. Judge of King's Bench, succeeded Sir William Blackstone.

Babington, Charles Cardale, 1808–95. Botanist, Archæologist.
†Baden-Powell, General Sir Robert, 1857–*living*. Defender of Mafeking, Founder of the Boy Scouts.
Barrow, Isaac, D.D. Master of Trinity, Scholar, Mathematician, Preacher.
Beddoes, Thomas Lovell, 1803–49. Poet.
†Bearcroft, Philip, D.D., 1695–1761. Master of Charterhouse, 1653–61, Author of *An Historical Account of Charterhouse*.
†Benson, Martin, 1689–1752. Bishop of Gloucester, 1735.
Bindley, James, 1737–1818. Antiquarian and Book-collector.
†Blackstone, Sir William, 1723–80.
†Bode, John Ernest, 1816–74. Scholar, Divine.
†Bonney, Henry Kaye, 1782–1862. Divine.
Boone, James Shergold, 1799–1859. Scholar, Man of Letters.
Boteler, William Fuller, 1777–85. Senior Wrangler, First Smith's Prizeman, Commissioner in Bankruptcy.
†Bowen, Sir George Ferguson, LL.D., 1821–99. Privy Councillor, Governor of Victoria, and of Mauritius.
Bradford, Samuel, D.D., 1652–1731. Bishop of Carlisle, and of Rochester.
†Burney, Charles, D.D., 1757–1817. Classical Critic.

Carpenter, Richard Cromwell, 1812–55. Architect.
†Churton, Edward, 1800–74. Archdeacon, Spanish Scholar.
†Clark, George Thomas, 1809–98. Engineer, Archæologist.
Cockle, Sir James, 1819–95. Mathematician, Chief Justice of Queensland.
†Cotton, Richard Lynch, D.D., 1794–1880. Provost of Worcester College, Oxon., Vice Chancellor.
†Crashaw, Richard, 1613 (?)–49. Poet.
Cresswell, Sir Cresswell, 1794–1863. Judge of Court of Common Pleas.
†Cullum, Sir Thomas Grey, 1741– . Botanist, Antiquarian, Bath King-at-Arms.
Currey, George, D.D., 1816–75. Fourth in Classical Tripos, Cambridge, and Fourteenth Wrangler, Master of Charterhouse, 1872–85.
Currie, Sir Frederick, Bart., 1799–1875. Vice-President of the Council of India.
Curzon, Robert, Fourteenth Baron Zouche, 1810–73. Antiquarian, Man of Letters.

Davies, John, 1748–89. President of Queens' College, Cambridge, Vice-Chancellor.
Dawes, William Rutler, 1799–1868. Astronomer.
Day, Thomas, 1748–89. Author of *Sandford and Merton.*
Dennis, George. Antiquarian, Author of *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria.*
†Des Vœux, Sir George William, 1834–1909. Diplomatist, Governor of Sta. Lucia, Fiji, Hongkong, Newfoundland.
Drummond-Hay, Sir John Hay, 1816–93. Privy Councillor.
†Dryden, Sir Erasmus Henry, Bart., 1669–1710. Son of John Dryden.
†Durham, William, D.D., died 1686. Preacher and Writer.

Eastlake, Sir Charles, 1793–1865. President of the Royal Academy.
Eastwick, Edward Backhouse, 1814–83. Orientalist.
Edgworth, Michael Packingham, 1812–81. Orientalist, Botanist.
†Ellenborough, Edward Law, First Baron Ellenborough, 1750–1818. Lord Chief Justice.
Elwyn, Richard, Canon. Senior Classic, Headmaster of Charterhouse, Master of Charterhouse.

Fane, John, Tenth Earl of Westmoreland, 1759–1841. Politician, Privy Councillor, Lord-Lieut. of Ireland.
Farre, Arthur, 1811–57. Physician, Writer.
Farre, Frederic John, 1804–86. Botanist, Physician.
Felton, Henry, D.D., 1679–1740. Divine.
Fitzwilliam, Richard, Seventh Viscount Fitzwilliam, 1745–1816. Founder of Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
Fonblanque, John Samuel Martin de Grenier, 1787–1865. Legal Writer, one of the Founders of the Union Society, Cambridge.
Forbes-Robertson, Sir Johnston, 1853-*living.* Actor.

†Gibson, Edgar Charles Sumner, 1848-*living.* Bishop of Gloucester.
Gibson, Thomas Milner, 1806–84. Privy Councillor.
Giles, John Allen, D.C.L., 1808–84. Editor and Translator.
†Gosnold, John, 1625–78. Baptist Preacher.
†Greaves, Thomas, 1612–76. Orientalist.
Grote, George, LL.D., 1794–1871. Historian of Greece.

Hale, William Hale, 1795–1872. Master of Charterhouse, 1842–72, Archdeacon of London.

Hamilton, William John, 1805–67. Geologist.
Hare, Julius Charles, 1795–1855. Man of Letters.
Havelock, General Sir Henry, Bart., 1795–1857. Relieved Lucknow.
Hayter, Henry Heylin, 1821–95. Statistician.
†Henshaw, Joseph, D.D., 1603–79. Bishop of Peterborough.
†Hewlett, Joseph Thomas James, 1800–47. Novelist.
†Hildesley, Mark, D.D., 1698–1772. Bishop of Sodor and Man.

†James, John Thomas, D.D., 1786–1828. Bishop of Calcutta.
†Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse, 1841–1905. Senior Classic, Professor of Greek at Glasgow, M.P. for Cambridge University, 1891–1905.
†Jenkinson, Charles, First Lord Liverpool, 1728–1808. Statesman.
Jenkinson, Robert Barker, Second Lord Liverpool, 1770–1828.
†Johnson, John, 1759–1833. Divine.
Jones, Owen, 1809–74. Architect and Designer.
†Jones, William, of Nayland, 1726–1800. Divine, Writer.
Jortin, John, 1698–1770. Divine, Ecclesiastical Writer and Critic.

†Keene, Edmund, D.D., 1714–81. Bishop of Ely and Chester.
†King, John, D.D., 1660–1737. Archdeacon of Colchester, Canon of Bristol, Master of Charterhouse, 1715–37.

†Law, Edward, First Baron Ellenborough, 1750–1818. Lord Chief Justice (*see* Ellenborough).
†Law, John, 1745–1810. Bishop of Elphin.
Law, George Henry, D.D., 1761–1845. Bishop of Chester and of Bath and Wells.
Leech, John, 1817–64. Artist.
Liddell, Henry George, D.D., 1811–98. Compiler with Dr. Scott of the Greek Lexicon, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, 1855–91.
†Locker, Arthur, 1828–93. Novelist, Journalist.
Lovelace, Colonel Richard, 1618–58. Poet.
†Lushington, Edmund Henry, 1811–93. Senior Classic, Professor of Greek at Glasgow.
Lushington, Henry, 1812–55. Porson Scholar, First Class Classic.

†Majendie, Henry William, 1754–1830. Bishop of Chester and of Bangor.
Maples, Chauncy, 1852–1895. Bishop of Zanzibar.
Maule, Fox, Earl of Dalhousie, 1809–18. Secretary of State for War, 1885–88.
Mills, Charles Augustus, 1850–1918. Engineer and Archæologist.
†Montagu, Basil, Knight, 1770–1851. Legal Writer, Philanthropist.
Mozley, Thomas, 1806–1893. Divine and Journalist.
Murray, John, 1808–92. Publisher.

†Nettleship, Henry, 1839–93. Hertford and Craven Scholar, Oxford, Professor of Latin at Oxford.

Palgrave, Francis Turner, 1824. Balliol Scholar, Man of Letters.
Palgrave, William Gifford, 1826. First Class Lit.Hum., Consul-General, Siam, Traveller, Writer.
†Palmer, Edwin, 1824–95. Scholar of Balliol, Archdeacon of Oxford, Canon of Christchurch.

Rawlinson, Sir Christopher, 1806–88. Indian Judge, Chief Justice Supreme Court of Madras.
Rodd, Thomas, 1763–1822. Bookseller, Author, Inventor.
†Russell, John, D.D. Headmaster, 1811–1832.

†Scott, Alexander John, D.D., 1768–1840. Rector of Southminster (a Charterhouse living), Naval Chaplain, served on the *London* (Admiral Sir Hyde Parker) at Copenhagen, 1801, on the *Victory* (Admiral Lord Nelson) at Trafalgar, 1805, Nelson's Private Secretary, Chaplain to the Prince Regent.

Scott, John, 1798–1846. Surgeon, Writer.

†Scott, Charles Perry, 1847- *living*. First Bishop of North China.

Seward, William, 1747–99, Man of Letters.

†Siddons, Henry, 1774–1815. Actor (son of Mrs. Siddons).

†Steele, Sir Richard, 1672–1729. Author.

†Stewart, John, 1749–1822. Traveller, Writer, known as "Walking Stewart."

Stone, Rev. Samuel John, 1837–1918. Author of various poems and hymns ("The Church's one Foundation," etc.).

Storks, Sir Henry Knight Storks, 1811–1874. Soldier and Administrator, Governor of Jamaica and of Malta.

Templeman, Peter, 1711–69. Physician.

Thackeray, William Makepeace, 1811–63. Author.

Thirlwall, Connop, 1797–1875. Bishop of St. David's, Historian of Greece.

Thomas, John, 1696–1781. Bishop of Peterborough, 1747; of Salisbury, 1757; of Winchester, 1761–81.

Toller, Sir Samuel, died 1821. Advocate-General of Madras.

†Tooke, Andrew, 1673–1732. Classical Scholar, Author of *Tooke's Pantheon*, Headmaster 1728–32.

Tupper, Martin, 1810–89. Author of *Proverbial Philosophy*.

Venables, George Stovin, 1810–88. Chancellor's Medalist for English Verse, Barrister, Writer.

Walford, Edward, 1823–97. Scholar of Balliol, Man of Letters, and Journalist.

†Wesley, John, 1703–1791. Divine.

†Williams, Roger, 1610–83. Founded the Settlement of Rhode Island (a memorial in Chapel Cloister).

†Wollaston, Francis John Hyde, 1762–1823. Natural Philosopher, wrote *The Variation of Species*.

†Wollaston, William Hyde, 1766–1822. Physiologist, Chemist.

Wray, Daniel, 1701–83. Antiquarian, gave "The Officers' Library" to Charterhouse.

II

Some Carthusian Worthies not educated at the School but connected with Charterhouse

This list consists mainly of those whose names appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Thomas Sutton, 1532–1611. Master of Ordnance for Berwick and the North of England to Queen Elizabeth. Founder of Sutton's Hospital.

Berdmore, Samuel, 1740–1802. Headmaster, 1769–91.

Burnet, Thomas, 1635–1715. Master, 1685–1715.

Bushnan, John Stevenson, 1808–84. Writer on Medical Subjects, went blind, Pensioner.

Clifford, Martin, *d.* 1677. Master, 1671–77. Buffoon about the Court (*i.e.* cupbearer) to Charles II.

Cosyn, Benjamin, *fl.* about 1620. Organist, Composer.

Crusius, Lewis, 1701–75. Headmaster, 1748–69.
Dallington, Sir Robert, 1561–1637. Master, 1624–37.
Dowton, William, *d.* 1883. Pensioner, Actor.
Erskine, William, *d.* 1685. Master, 1677–85.
Gray, Stephen, *d.* 1736. Pensioner, Pioneer of Electric Science.
Green, Jonathan, 1788–1864. Pensioner, Medical writer.
Grey, Nicholas, 1590–1660. Headmaster, 1614–24.
Grieve, James, *d.* 1773. Physician to Charterhouse.
Haig-Brown, William, LLD. Headmaster, 1864–97. Master, 1897–1907.
Horsley, William, 1774–1858. Organist, 1838–58, Musical Composer, wrote the music of "Carmen Carthusianum."
Hullah, John Pyke, 1812–84. Organist, 1858–84, Musical Composer, assisted Horsley and Phillott in "Carmen Carthusianum."
Hulme, Nathaniel, 1732–1807. Physician to Charterhouse, 1774–1807.
Hume, Tobias, *d.* 1645. Pensioner, 1629, Soldier of Fortune, Musician and writer on music.
Macbean, Alex, *d.* 1784. Pensioner, 1780, one of the six amanuenses for *Johnson's Dictionary*.
Mann, Nicolas, *d.* 1753. Master, 1737–53.
Morton, Maddison, 1811–91. Pensioner, 1881, Actor, Author of *Box and Cox*, 1847.
Pepusch, John Christopher, Mus.Doc., 1667–1752. Musician and Composer, Organist of Charterhouse. Buried in Charterhouse Chapel.
Pilkington, William, 1758–1848. } Architects, added to
Pilkington, William Redmond, 1789–1844. } London Charterhouse.
Raine, Matthew, 1760–1811. Headmaster, 1791–1811.
Settle, Elkanah, 1648–1724. Pensioner, 1718–1723–27.
Stevens, Richard John Samuel, 1757–1837. Musician and Composer of many glees, Organist of Charterhouse, 1796–1837. Buried in the Chapel Cloister.
Williams, Zachariah, 1673–75. Medical practitioner, Man of Science, Inventor. Became a Brother, 1729. Friend and contemporary of Stephen Gray. Expelled in 1748 for general breaches of rule and for having, without permission, allowed his daughter to live with him two years in the Hospital. Friend of Dr. Johnson and Jones of Nayland (*q.v.*).

APPENDIX F

CARMEN CARTHUSIANUM

"Carmen Carthusianum." The words by Henry Wright Phillott, Assistant Master, Charterhouse. The Music by William Horsley, organist to Charterhouse: assisted by John Hullah, afterwards organist to Charterhouse.

CARMEN CARTHUSIANUM

W. Horsley, *Mus. Bac. Oxon.*—(*Organist of Charterhouse*, A.D. 1838–1858.)

Læti laudate Dominum,
Fontem perennem boni,
Recolentes Fundatoris
Memoriam Suttoni.

Omnes laudate Dominum,
Vos quibus singularia
Suttonus bona præbuit;
Et domum et bursaria.

Senes, laudate Dominum,
Reddatis et honorem
Suttono, quibus requies
Paratur post laborem.

Pueri, laudate Dominum,
Quoscumque hic instituit
Suttonus bonis literis
Et pietate imbuit.

Ergo laudate Dominum,*
Omnes Carthusiani,
Puerique rus amantes,
Et senes oppidani.

Læti laudate Dominum,
Surgat è Choro Sonus,
O Floreat æternum
Carthusiana Domus.

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*This stanza was added by Dr. Haig-Brown after the removal of the school.

APPENDIX G

LIST OF CARTHUSIANS

SERVING IN THE BRITISH AND ALLIED FORCES

From August 4, 1914, to *November* 11, 1918

AND IN THE SUBSEQUENT RUSSIAN CAMPAIGNS

The letter and date preceding each name denote boarding-house and year of leaving School.

The ranks given are, in most cases, the highest held during the War.

*=Mentioned in Despatches. †=Killed, or died of wounds or sickness. ‡=Wounded. *p*=Prisoner of War.

V 1891*†Abadie, E. H. E. (D.S.O.), Major, 9th Lancers
V 1896***†Abadie, R. N. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 2nd 60th Rifles
D 1915 Abbott, W. F., 2nd Lt., 4th East Surrey Regt.
D 1912 †Abbott, T. W., 2nd Lt., R.F.C.
S 1871 *Abdy, A. J. (C.B., C.B.E.), Brigadier-General, R.A.
P 1909**‡‡Abdy, J. R. (Italian Silver Medal for Valour, Croix de Guerre), Capt., Sherwood Rangers
H 1912 Abdy, R. H. E., Lt., 15th (The King's) Hussars
V 1911 ‡Abell, J. G., Capt., 4th Leicestershire Regt.
P 1915 *Abercrombie, G. F., Surgeon Sub-Lt., R.N.V.R.
S 1910 Acheson, J. G., Lt., 3rd Seaforth Highlanders
D 1907 Acheson-Gray, C. G. A., Lt., 4th Dorsetshire Regt.
V 1876 *Acland, A. D. (T.D.), Lt.-Col., R. 1st Devon Yeomanry; Assistant Director of Labour
H 1916 †Adams, J. S., 2nd Lt., 7th The Queen's
P 1912 †Adams, R. N. (M.C.), Capt., 7th R. Fusiliers & R.F.C.
S 1909 Agar, T. F., Lt., R.E.
g 1903 Agelasto, E. J., 2nd Lt., 8th Manchester Regt.
W 1895 Aglionby, F. B., 2nd Lt., Kent R.G.A.
P 1900 Aikman, T. T., Capt., R.A.S.C.
B 1911 †Aitchison, R. A. C., 2nd Lt., 1st R. Lancaster Regt.
P 1915 †Aked, R. B. C. (M.C.), Lt., 5th North Staffordshire Regt.
R 1907‡‡Albu, V. C., Lt., R.F.A.
W 1892 Aldrich-Blake, R. M., Pte., R. Fusiliers
B 1899 ‡Alexander, L. W., Capt., 1st (King's) Dragoon Guards
S 1912*‡Allan, J. L. (M.B.E.), Lt., R.F.A.; War Office
B 1899 *Allan, P. B. M., Capt., 3rd London Scottish; War Office

G 1902 Allden, J. E., Lt., General List ; Staff
G 1907***Allden, S. G. (D.S.O.), Major, R.A.S.C. ; D.A.Q.-M.-G.
B 1892 †Allen, C. R. (M.C.), Capt., 6th Manchester Regt.
S 1888 Allen, E. C. (I.C.S.), 2nd Lt., I.A.R.O., attd. Labour Corps
g 1909**Allen, J. R., Capt., R.A.S.C.
V 1904 Allen, Rev. L. J., Chaplain, H.M.S. *Courageous*
W 1903**Allen, R. H. (M.C.), Major, R.A. ; D.A.A.-G.
B 1891*†Alston, C. H. T., Major, R.A.F.
G 1908 †Alston, C. McC., Lt., 2nd R. Scots Fusiliers
B 1891 Alston, I. G. P., Trooper, Indian Defence Force
B 1887 †Alston, J. W. H., Major, 1st Arg. & Suth. Highlanders
D 1908 Aman, J. G., Capt., Hants R.G.A.
g 1905 ‡Ames, L. G., Capt., 5th Grenadier Guards
g 1878 *Ames, O. H., Lt.-Col., 2nd Life Guards
R 1913 ‡Amsden, W. F., Lt., 12th London Regt.
H 1881 *Ancrum, G. W., Capt., R.A.M.C.
G 1895 Anderson, C. A. Surgeon, Lt., H.M.S. *Victory*
B 1915 ‡Anderson, D. L., Capt., The Black Watch
G 1893 *Anderson, E. S. J., Major, Military Accounts Dept., I.A.
L 1914 Anderson, G. B. (M.C.), Major, 1st E. Lancs. Bde., R.F.A.
G 1901 †Anderson, G. W., Capt., R.A.S.C.
P 1915 Anderson, J. E. S., Sub-Lt., H.M.S. *Revenge*
G 1903 *Anderson, J. G., Capt., R.G.A.
G 1910 ‡Anderson, K. A. N. (M.C.), Capt., 1st Seaforth Highlanders
G 1890*‡Anderson, W. H., Capt., London Scottish
V 1897 Anderton, C. S., 2nd Lt., R. Sussex Regt.
D 1893 †Anderton, E., Lt., E. African Field Force (Censor)
B 1887 Andrews, A. W., 2nd Lt., R.E.
L 1903 ‡Andrews, L. H. G., Capt., Bedford Regt. & Egyptian Army
g 1910**‡‡Angas, L. L. B. (M.C., Belgian Croix de Guerre), Major, 1st attd. 4th Cheshire Regt.
H 1912 ‡Ansley, S. S. (M.C.), Capt., Berkshire R.H.A.
S 1896 †Antrobus, C. A., Capt., 1st K.O. Scottish Borderers
S 1894 †Antrobus, Hugh, Major, 6th Cameron Highlanders
S 1908***Antrobus, R. H. (M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
L 1912 Apcar, C., Rifleman, London Rifle Brigade
B 1911 †Arbuthnott, J., Lt., 2nd Grenadier Guards
S 1898 ‡Archer, H. W., Major, Northumberland Fus. ; D.A.Q.-M.-G.
V 1903 Archer, P. A. E., Capt., R. 1st Devon Yeomanry
W 1896 Argles, H. D., Lt., 3rd County of London Yeomanry
W 1900 Argles, R. M., Lt., R.A.S.C.
W 1913 ‡Arkwright, L., Lt., R.F.A.
H 1898 Armitage, N. C., Lt., R.G.A.
R 1897 *Armitage, W. A. (D.S.O.), Major, 3rd York & Lancaster Regt. & M.G.C. (Motor)
V 1890 Armstrong, F. P. (O.B.E.), Commander, R.N.V.R.
g 1883 *Armstrong, G. D. (D.S.O.), Bt. Col., 12th R. Warwick Regt.
L 1905 Armstrong, H. M., Gunner, 3rd Canadian F.A.
g 1902 Armstrong, M. D., Lt., 8th Middlesex Regt.
B 1900 Armstrong, R., Lt., R.A.S.C.
L 1902***‡Armstrong, W. F. (D.S.O.), M.C. with Bar), Major, R.G.A.
G 1913**Arthur, J. S. (M.C.), Lt., R.F.A., attd. R.A.F.
W 1901 Arundel, A. D. S., Capt., R.A.S.C.
D 1912 †Ascroft, R. G. L., 2nd Lt., 10th Manchester Regt.
D 1884 Ashby, G. K., Capt., British Columbia Regt. ; Staff Lt.
P 1897 Asprey, G. K., Capt., Scots Guards, attd. R.A.O.C.

W 1882******Asser, Sir J. J. (K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., C.B., Legion of Honour, Croix de Guerre, Russian Order of St. Anne, Belgian Order of the Crown & Croix de Guerre, Japanese Order of The Sacred Treasure, Portuguese Military Order of Aviz, Ordre du Mérite Agricole), Lieut.-General on Lines of Communication
G 1915*†Astley, E. D. D'O., Capt., 3rd R. Berkshire Regt.
V 1876**Atherton, T. J. (C.B., C.M.G.), formerly 12th Lancers, Bt. Col., 6th Reserve Cavalry & Labour Corps
g 1915 ‡Atkins, L. O., Lt., 3rd East Surrey Regt.
H 1914 ‡Atkinson, A. F., Lt., R.E.
P 1883******Atkinson, E. H. de V. (C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., Legion of Honour, Belgian Order of the Crown, Portuguese Military Order of Aviz, French and Belgian Croix de Guerre), Major-General; Chief Engineer
S 1894 *Atkinson, G. B., Major, 3rd Northumberland Fusiliers; Assistant Controller of Labour
S 1898*‡‡Atkinson, G. M. (D.S.O.), Major, 2nd 60th Rifles
S 1900 ‡Atkinson, G. N., Capt., 2nd Somerset L.I.
g 1908*†Atkinson, H. N. (D.S.O.), Lt., 3rd attd. 1st Cheshire Regt.
g 1907**Atkinson, K. P. (M.C.), Major, R.F.A. & R.A.F.
W 1913 ‡Atkinson, L. O., Lt., 7th The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
W 1909 *Atterbury, F. W., Lt., R.N.V.R.
R 1907 †Austen-Leigh, A. A., Capt., 4th R. Berkshire Regt.
W 1883 Austin, J. M. C., Major, 6th Suffolk Regt.
V 1902 †Averdieck, G. H., 2nd Lt., 16th 60th Rifles
V 1903*‡Avory, D. H., Major, 5th R. Berkshire Regt.
L 1913 *Aykroyd, A. H., Major, 2nd W. Riding Bde., R.F.A.
V 1903 ‡Ayscough, I., Lt., H.A.C.

G 1890 *Bacchus, J. B. R., Major, A.P.D., attd. R.A.F.
R 1899‡‡Backhouse, H. G. S., Lt., 7th Somerset L.I.
V 1918 Backwell, M., Pte., East Yorkshire Regt.
g 1877 ‡Baden-Powell, B. F. S., Major, Scots Guards; Bombing Instructor, Guards Division
g 1876 Baden-Powell, Sir R. S. S. (K.C.B., K.C.V.O., Portuguese Order of Christ, Spanish Order of Alfonzo XII), Lieut.-General, retired; Admiralty employ
S 1899 ‡Badger, T. R. (O.B.E.), Lt.-Col., 12th Lancers; Military Attaché
R 1890 Bagge, R. L. (D.S.O.), Major, 4th Norfolk Regt.
H 1905 †Bagnall, G. B., 2nd Lt., The Rifle Brigade
B 1901***Bagnall, H. G. (D.S.O.), Major, R.G.A.
B 1902 †Bagnall, R. G., Lt., R.G.A.
G 1884 Bagshaw, W. H., Major, 5th East Surrey Regt.
S 1891 Bailey, A. H. (D.S.O.), Capt. & Adjt., Depôt, Devon Regt.
S 1896 *Bailey, G. S., Lt., 1st South Staffordshire Regt.
W 1908 †Baillie, D., Lt., 9th Gurkhas
W 1911 †Baillie, E. H., Capt., 10th The Cameronians
G 1895 Baillie, G. E., Pte., Seaforth Highlanders
D 1896 *a*Bainbridge, O. J., Lt., Sherwood Rangers
H 1905 †Baines, A. B., Capt., 6th Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
V 1909‡*p*Baird Douglas, A. S. D., Capt., 3rd R. Lancaster Regt.
P 1909 ‡Bairstow, G. W. I., Capt., 20th Hussars
L 1914 ‡Baker, J. W. (M.C.), Lt., 11th E. Surrey Regt. & R.A.F.
V 1909 Baker, S., Capt., 4th The Buffs, attd. R.A.F.

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a Died in consequence of an accident in the hunting field, 27th September, 1915.

P 1880**Baker Brown, W. (C.B.), Brig.-Gen., R.E.; Chief Engineer
S 1895***Baker-Carr, C. D'A. B. S. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), formerly The Rifle Brigade & Tank Corps; Lt.-Col. Gen. List
S 1890 *Baker-Carr, H. B. F. (O.B.E.), Major, Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders; D.A.A.-G., War Office
S 1886 *Baker-Carr, R. G. T. (M.V.O., Orders of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus and of Star of Rumania), Major, The Rifle Brigade; Staff, War Office
g 1915 Baldwin, P., 2nd Lt., Indian Army
W 1898 Balfour, C. G. C., 2nd Lt., 3rd Coldstream Guards
W 1909 *Balfour, C. M., Capt., R.E., attd. 9th Tank Corps
L 1911 Balfour, R. F., 2nd Lt., R.A.S.C.
g 1911 Balfour, W. J., Lt., 20th Hussars
g 1904 Balfour-Melville, E. W. M., Lt., Special List
R 1909**‡‡‡Ball, C. J. P. (D.S.O., M.C.), Major, R.H.A.
R 1910‡‡Ball, S. G., 2nd Lt., R.H.A.
V 1885**†Ballard, C. N. B., Lt.-Col., R.F.A.
P 1886**Balmain, J. A. S. (Legion of Honour, Ordre du Mérite Agricole), Major, formerly 15th (The King's) Hussars); Assistant Commandant, Prisoners of War Camp
P 1916 Bamber, A. K., Lt., R.A.F.
W 1915 *Bamlet, G. A., Capt., 4th attd. 20th Durham L.I.
S 1914 Banting, L. A., Trumpeter, H.A.C.
S 1914 Barbour, D. N., Lt., 9th R. Lancaster Regt.
S 1903 Barbour, K. D., Capt., 15th Lancers, I.A.
S 1911 ‡Bardsley, F. S. E., Lt., 6th The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
B 1895 Barker, G. H. (Croix de Guerre), Lt., R.F.A.
D 1891 Barker, J., Hon. Major, formerly R. Lanc. Regt.; R.T.O.
V 1916 Barker, O. C., Lt., 6th Middlesex Regt.
g 1912‡‡*p*Barlow, C. N., Capt., 11th 60th Rifles
g 1913 Barlow, S. R. M., Capt., R.G.A.
G 1911*†Barnato, I. H. W., Capt., R.A.F.
G 1912 Barnato, W. J., Capt., R.F.A.
g 1896 Barnes, F.D., 2nd Lt., R. Defence Corps
L 1914 †Barnes, V. K., Lt., R. Fusiliers
W 1883 †Barnett, Carew, Major, 6th Duke of Cornwall's L.I.
R 1894 †Barrett, P. G., Capt., 2nd R. Munster Fusiliers
W 1911 Barrington, F. E. P., Capt., R.A.F.
H 1876 Barrington, J. B. (Legion of Honour, Croix de Guerre avec palme), Hon. Lt., British Red Cross
D 1896***‡Barrington, Hon. R. E. S. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col. 1st Scottish Horse, attd. 13th The Black Watch
D 1895 Barrington, Hon. W. B. L., 2nd Lt., R.A.S.C.
W 1905 Barrington Foote, P. W., Capt., R. Fusiliers
G 1916 Barrow, G. R., Sub-Lt., H.M.S. *Scimitar*
V 1914**Barrow, R., Capt., R.F.A.
B 1911 Bartleet, C. G., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
D 1909 *p*Barton, A. W., Capt., 3rd Leinster Regt.
L 1905 Bartrum, S. H., Cpl., Motor Despatch Rider, R.E.
G 1892 *Barwell, F. R., Major, R.A.M.C.
g 1912 Bashall, W. E. V., Lt., Royal Marines
R 1916 †Bateson, J. (M.C.), Lt., R.F.A.
S 1912 ‡Batley, J., Lt., Worcestershire Yeomanry
R 1887 *Battine, R. St. C. (D.S.O., Russian Order of St. Stanislas), Lt.-Col., 21st (Daly's) Horse; Staff
W 1903‡‡‡Battye, P. L. M. (M.C., Legion of Honour, Croix de Guerre), Capt., 1st Welsh Guards
P 1912*‡Baxter, C. W. (M.C.), Capt., 6th South Lancashire Regt.
P 1914 †Baxter, R. F., 2nd Lt., 3rd R. Sussex Regt.

D 1903 Baxter, T. H. E., 2nd Lt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
R 1914 *p*Bayliff, G. T. L., Lt., Tank Corps
L 1906 ‡Baynham, A. G. (M.C.), Lt., Tank Corps
S 1902 †Beachcroft, C. S., Lt., Household Battalion
H 1901 Beal, H. E. J., Capt., I.A.R.O., attd. Rajput Garrison Co.
H 1894 *Beal, R. E. B. (M.C.), Major, R.A.S.C.
H 1881 Beale, W. St. J., Major, formerly Norfolk Regt.; Ordnance Factory Inspector
D 1916 Bearman, B. G., Lt., 14th (King's) Hussars
W 1912**‡‡Beatson, C. G. (Order of the Crown of Italy, Belgian Order of Leopold and Croix de Guerre with palm, French Croix de Guerre with Bronze Star), Major, Middlesex Regt. & R.A.F.
B 1884***Beatty, G. A. H. (C.M.G., D.S.O. with Bar), 9th (Hodson's Horse; Brigadier-General
B 1884**Beatty, L. N. (C.M.G., Legion of Honour), 31st (Duke of Connaught's Own) Lancers; Brigadier-General
V 1917 Beck, J. B. (M.C.), 2nd Lt, 2nd Coldstream Guards
V 1912*‡Beck, R. A., Capt., R.H.A.
W 1907*†Beck, W. C., Major, R.F.A.
G 1914 †Beecheno, J. H., 2nd Lt., 13th 60th Rifles
G 1914 Beecheno, W. A., Lt., R.G.A.
P 1897 *Beeton, A. E. (M.C., Croix de Guerre), Capt. Camouflage Park, R.E.
g 1903 Beevor, C. F., Lt., R.A.M.C.
G 1912 †Begbie, S. C. H., Lt., 3rd E. Surrey Regt., attd. R.A.F.
L 1913*‡Behrens, E. B. (M.C. with Bar), Capt., R.F.A.
L 1912 †Behrens, W. L., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
g 1895**‡Bell, A. H. (D.S.O., O.B.E.), Lt.-Col., R.E., attd. I.A.
H 1912 Bell, A. W., Sub-Lt., R.N.V.R.
G 1906 †Bell, Rev. C. H. (M.C.), Chaplain, attd. R. Berkshire Regt.
R 1915 Bell, E. J. D., 2nd Lt., 6th The Black Watch
S 1899 *p*Bell, F., Major, 1st Gordon Highlanders
P 1913*†Bell, H. H., Capt., 4th Northumberland Fusiliers
V 1882 *Bell, H. P., formerly Merwara Infantry, Lt.-Col., 8th Leicestershire Regt.
G 1908 *Bell, Rev. J. A. H. (M.C.), Chaplain, attd. 1st West Yorkshire Regt.
L 1906 †Bell, K. F. H., 2nd Lt., 1st London Regt.
P 1910***‡Bell, M. C. (D.S.O., M.C.), Capt., 1st R. Fusiliers
S 1912 †Bell, P. L., Capt., 10th Hampshire Regt.
P 1911 ‡Bell, P. W., Lt., 18th Hussars
S 1903 Bell, Rev. R., Chaplain, H.M.S. *Theseus*
D 1884 Bell, R. F., Major, 14th Durham L.I.
V 1906 *p*Bell, R. P. M., Capt., 1st K.O. Scottish Borderers
H 1906****†Bell-Irving, W. O. (M.C.), Capt., 11th Hussars; Brigade Major
V 1900 Bell-Macdonald, W. M., Lt., Canadian Engineers
R 1911**Bemrose, W. L. (O.B.E., Croix de Guerre), Capt., 5th Sherwood Foresters, attd. R.E.
L 1898 †Bence Trower, A., 2nd Lt., 1st Scots Guards
L 1909*†Bence Trower, E. (M.C.), Major, 5th S. Wales Borderers
L 1910 Bence Trower, H. A., 2nd Lt., 13th The Rifle Brigade
L 1900 Bence Trower, R. A., Capt., London Rough Riders
S 1896 Benckendorff, L. E., Staff Sergt., S. African Pay Corps
V 1906 Bendit, A. C., Capt., R.A.S.C.
D 1913 †Benn, A. M., Capt., 9th West Yorkshire Regt.
D 1909 †Benn, J. R. T., Capt., R.F.A.
P 1906 Bennedik, R. S. W., Capt., 1st Yorkshire Regt.

L 1913‡‡‡Bennett, B. H., Capt., 8th The Rifle Brigade
G 1915 ‡Bennett, C. H. A., Capt., R.G.A.
L 1916 Bennett, C. W., Lt., 9th (Queen's Royal) Lancers
G 1917 ‡Bennett, D. W., 2nd Lt., R.E.
g 1893 Bennion, J. M. (M.D.), Lt., R.A.M.C.
P 1895 Benson, G. R., Capt., Shropshire Yeomanry
G 1907*†Benson, H. L., 2nd Lt., Northumberland Fusiliers
V 1895 †Benson, J. P., Capt., 1st East Surrey Regt.
D 1914 Benson, S. R., Capt., R.A.S.C. (Canteens)
L 1898 Berdoe-Wilkinson, D. W., Sub-Lt., R.N.V.R.
H 1907 †Berlein, C. M., Lt., 5th Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
H 1908 †Berlein, L. H., Lt., 8th R. Berkshire Regt.
H 1886 Berly, C. E., Major, Kent R.F.A.
B 1901 †Berry, T. L., Rifleman, 60th Rifles
G 1909 †Bertram, C. R., 2nd Lt., King Edward's Horse & R.F.C.
G 1899*********Bethell, H. K. (C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., D.S.M. of U.S.A., French & Belgian Croix de Guerre, Croce di Guerra), 7th (Queen's Own) Hussars; Major-General
g 1904 *Beves, C. H., Paymaster Lt., R.N. Division
S 1903 Bickersteth, G. L., Hon. Capt., R.M., Naval Intelligence Department
S 1906 Bickersteth, J. B. (M.C. with Bar), Lt., 1st (Royal) Dragoons
g 1895****Bicknell, H. P. F. (D.S.O.), Major, 2nd Middlesex Regt.
P 1896 Biddle, F. A., Capt., T.F. Res.; Musketry Instructor
W 1890*****Biddulph, H. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), Brig.-General, R.E.
G 1882**Biddulph, H. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col. R.F.A.
g 1885**‡Biddulph, H. M., Lt.-Col., 6th The Rifle Brigade
g 1903 Bidwell, Rev. R. A., Chaplain
L 1904 Biggs, H. Russell, 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
V 1911 Bignold, C. R., Capt., 4th Norfolk Regt., attd. Labour Corps
H 1906*†Bilton, E. B., Capt., Highland Cyclist Battalion, attd. 5th K.O. Yorkshire L.I.
S 1881 Bingley, R. N. G. (Hellenic Orders of The Redeemer & of King George I.), Hon. Major; Assistant Commissioner, British Red Cross, Salonika
H 1891 Binney, E. H., 2nd Lt., R. Marines
G 1915 Binnie, J. A., Sub-Lt., H.M.S. *Viscount*
H 1915 Binns, C. E. B., Lt., R.A.F. (Admin.)
G 1894 Birch, A. L., 2nd Lt., 5th Cheshire Regt.
G 1898 Birch, Rev. J. G., Chaplain
B 1906 ‡Birch, P. D., Lt., 10th R. Fusiliers
G 1893 ‡Bird, A. W., Capt., 9th R. Berkshire Regt.
D 1914 Bird, H., Lt., 3rd Dorsetshire Regt.
P 1898 ‡Bishop, A. O., Major, 8th The Border Regt.
S 1915 Bisiker, E. J., Lt., R. Marines
S 1906***‡‡Bissett, F. W. L. (D.S.O., M.C.), Bt. Major, D.C.L.I.
S 1870 Bittleston, G. H., Col., R.A.
L 1908 Blackburne, C. I., Lt., 8th R. West Kent Regt.
S 1890*†Blackburne, J. G., Major, 9th Sherwood Foresters
H 1905 Blacker, H. A. C., Capt., I.A.R.O.
V 1917 Blackley, T. R., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
g 1914 †Blades, L. T., Lt., 6th The Rifle Brigade
L 1904 ‡Blagrove, J., Capt., 1st Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
L 1905 Blagrove, P. (M.C. with Bar), Capt., R.F.A.
L 1895 Blake, A., Lt., 7th Kootenay Corps
G 1903 Blake, A. E., Capt., R.F.A.
G 1892 Blake, C. H. B., Major, R.G.A.

B 1899 Blake, E. C. K. S., 2nd Lt., R.A.S.C.
G 1889 Blake, G. C., Lt., Indian Defence Force
G 1907 Blake, G. H. (M.C.), Capt., R.A.S.C., attd. 12th The Rifle Brigade
L 1897 *Blake, M. B., Capt., R.A.F.
G 1895*****Blake, W. A. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour, Hellenic Order of The Redeemer), Wiltshire Regt.; Brigadier-General
V 1913 ‡Bland, A. J. T. (M.C.), Lt., R.F.A.
P 1914 †Bland, C. F. R. (M.C., Croix de Guerre), Lt., R. Berkshire Regt.
V 1915 †Bland, M. G., Lt., 1st 60th Rifles
W 1911 Blandy Jenkins, J. T., Pte., 49th Canadian Infantry
W 1903 *Blanford, A. W. (M.C.), Capt. I.A.R.O., attd. 130th Baluchis
W 1887 Blanford, W. G., Lt.-Col., R.G.A.
P 1904 Bles, D. G. (I.C.S.), Lt., I.A.R.O., attd. 17th Cavalry
P 1914 ‡Bles, J. L. W., Lt., 5th Cheshire Regt.
g 1891 *Bliss, E. C., Capt., R.G.A.; Staff
D 1909‡‡Blom, A. H., Capt., 3rd Irish Guards
g 1877**Blomfield, C. J. (T.D.), Capt., The Artists' Rifles O.T.C.
g 1901 Blomfield, E. V., Lt., R.E.
B 1907 Blow, A. E., Lt., Gen. List; Record Office
W 1914*‡Blumer, H. E., Capt., 14th Durham L.I. & Labour Corps
H 1896**†Blunt, D. H. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 2nd Devonshire Regt.
V 1875 Blunt-Mackenzie, E. W., Lt.-Col., R.F.A.
R 1908 ‡Boadle, A. E., Lt., 12th Hampshire Regt.
R 1910 ‡Boadle, T. S., Capt., 8th Lincolnshire Regt.
S 1896**Board, A. G. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), Col., South Wales Borderers & R.A.F.
S 1894‡pBoard, H. R., Pte., 7th British Columbia Regt.
S 1895 †Bodington, C. H., Capt., Household Battalion
D 1911 ‡Bodington, G. L. R., Capt., 9th R. Warwickshire Regt.
P 1901 *Bodkin, G. S. C., Lt., R.E.
G 1911 Bodkin, H. W. A., Capt., Military Control Officer
L 1892*‡Bogle, B. W., Major, 2nd East Yorkshire Regt.
R 1903 †Bois, D. G., Lt., R.G.A.
g 1880*‡Boisragon, G. H. (V.C.) Bt. Col., 5th Gurkhas
B 1908**Boldero, H. E. A., Major, R.A.M.C.
g 1911 Bond, C. E., Capt., R.A.M.C.
g 1917 †Bond, F. B., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
H 1896 Bond, F. M., Lt., Suffolk Regt., attd. Cambs. Regt.
H 1888 *Bond, R. S., Capt., Special List; Staff Capt., W.O.
G 1905 ‡Bonner, C. R. D., Lt., The Rifle Brigade
L 1914 Booker, R. E. E., 2nd Lt., 4th The Buffs
g 1908*†Boosey, F. C. (M.C.), Lt., 1st Norfolk Regt.
g 1911 Boosey, R., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
g 1912*†Boosey, R. G., 2nd Lt., 4th (R. Irish) Dragoon Guards
G 1909 Booth, E. R. C., Capt., 35th Scinde Horse
P 1895 Booth, R. W., Capt., R.A.S.C.
B 1905 Boothby, R. E., 2nd Lt., 21st Lancers
V 1903 *Borissow, F. A., Capt., I.A.R.O.; Embarkation Staff
S 1910 †Borough, A. C. H., Lt., Welsh Guards
S 1909 Borough, J. G. B., Capt., Staffordshire Yeomanry
V 1910 ‡Borradaile, C. H. A. (M.C.), Major, R.G.A.
V 1877*‡Borradaile, H. B. (D.S.O.), I.A., Brigadier-General
G 1895 Borrow, F. K., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
G 1902**Borton, A. H., Capt., R.A.S.C.
P 1910*†Bostock, A. H., Lt., Canadian Mounted Rifles

P 1905 †Bostock, E. N. (M.C.), 2nd Lt., 4th attd. 2nd Northamptonshire Regt.
P 1911*‡‡Bostock, L. (D.S.O.), Capt., 7th Northants Regt.
P 1904 Bostock, N. F., Capt., R.G.A.
H 1912**†Boswell, D. St. G. K., Major, 3rd Duke of Cornwall's L.I., attd. M.G.C.
g 1894 *Boulton, C. S. (Russian Order of St. Anne), Major, formerly Duke of Cornwall's L.I.; War Office
W 1905 *Boulton, O., Lt., R.A.S.C.
P 1913 Bourchier, J. R., Lt., R.A.S.C.
W 1910*†Boustead, L. C., Lt., 1st R. Dublin Fusiliers
V 1912 ‡Bowater, F. V., Lt., R.F.A.
D 1914*‡Bowen, C. L. J., Capt., R. Lancaster Regt.; Staff
g 1913*†Bowen, G. G. (M.C.), Capt., 2nd Lancashire Fusiliers
R 1913 ‡Bower, A. G., Lt., 1st London Regt.
V 1917 Bower, P. G., 2nd Lt., 60th Rifles
V 1911 Bower, T. C. (M.C.), Capt., H.A.C.
W 1917 ‡Bower, W., 2nd Lt., 3rd West Yorkshire Regt.
H 1915 ‡Bowerman, C. D. (M.C.), Lt., R.F.A.
H 1911 ‡Bowker, R. C. S., Lt., R.F.A. & R.A.F.
W 1900*†Bowlby, T. R., Capt., 3rd Norfolk Regt.
L 1902*‡*p*Bowring, F. A., Capt., 1st East Surrey Regt.
L 1915*‡*p*Bowring, J. V., Lt., South Lancashire Regt. & R.A.F.
G 1911*‡Boyd, E. R. H. (M.C., Belgian Croix de Guerre), Lt.-Col., 3rd attd. 11th The Royal Scots
g 1915 Boyd, J. L. S., Lt., 7th attd. 2nd The Queen's
G 1912 †Boyd, J. P., Capt., 3rd attd. 2nd Gordon Highlanders
W 1908**‡Boyle, C. N. C. (M.C.), Capt., 5th attd. 13th Rifle Bde.
L 1878*†Boyle, E. C. P. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 1st H.A.C.
V 1894 ‡Boyse, A. H. T. S., Major, Irish Guards; A.P.-M.
L 1898 Brabazon, C. P., Capt., 9th K.O. Scottish Borderers
L 1915*‡‡Braby, F. C. (M.C.), Capt., 8th Lancashire Fusiliers
H 1907 Braddell, R. L. L., Lt., R.G.A.
g 1905 †Braddyll, E. C. R. G., Capt., 10th (D.C.O.) Lancers (Hodson's Horse), attd. R.F.C.
g 1912 †Bradley, T. W. McK., Gunner, R.G.A.
V 1913 †Bradshaw, A. W. A., 2nd Lt., 1st The Queen's
V 1914 ‡Bradshaw, H. M. E. (M.C.), Capt., 8th Hampshire Regt. & M.G.C. (Motor)
S 1909 Brady, F. B., Sergt., 10th R. Fus., attd. Intelligence Corps
R 1913 Brailsford, R. W., Major, 1st Wessex Bde., R.F.A.
S 1899 †Braithwaite, M. Ll., Lt., R.A. & R.F.C.
S 1896 Brakspear, F. G., Capt., R.A.S.C.
S 1892 †Brakspear, R. W., Major, 8th R. Berkshire Regt.
S 1883*†Brakspear, W. R., Lt.-Col., 2/3rd Gurkhas
V 1893 Bramston-Newman, R. G. O. (M.V.O.), Lt.-Col., North Irish Horse, attd. Labour Corps
P 1887 Bramwell, A. B., Capt., 3rd Devonshire Regt.
g 1904**‡Bramwell, G., Capt., 3rd Northumberland Fusiliers
V 1896 Brand, A. N., Gunner, H.A.C.
V 1901 Brand, E. J., 2nd Lt., Railway Stores Dept.
H 1895 †Brand, E. S., Capt., R. Fusiliers, attd. W. African Regt.
G 1916 Brandt, H. G., Lt., I.A.R.O.
g 1895 Branston, H. E., Hon. Capt., Army Canteen Committee
g 1890 ‡Branston, H. P. G., Capt., 8th Sherwood Foresters, attd. R.A.F. (Admin.)
W 1905 Braun, G. C. P., 2nd Lt., R.A.S.C.
g 1898 Bray, F. E., Lt., R.A.F.
S 1903 †Bray, G. T., 2nd Lt., 2/4th The Queen's

S 1803 Bray, Sir E. H. (C.S.I.), Brigadier-General ; Director of Indian Contracts
S 1895 Bray, M. W., Hon. Capt., Special List
P 1896 Breeds, T. W., Capt., The Welsh Regt.
S 1893 Brenan, A. R. M. (M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
L 1911 Brewer, A. M., Lt., Union Defence Force, S. Africa
L 1898** Brewis, F. B., Major, 1st K.O. Yorkshire L.I.
L 1908*** Brewis, G. S. (D.S.O. with Bar), Lt.-Col., 1st The Welsh Regt., attd. 7th Lancashire Fusiliers
G 1913 †Brickwood, A. C., 2nd Lt., 1st York & Lancaster Regt.
G 1905 Bridges, A. B. H. (O.B.E.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
H 1887***** ‡Bridgford, R. J. (C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.), King's Shropshire L.I. ; Brigadier-General
W 1893** ‡Bridgman, G. A., Lt.-Col., 4th Middlesex Regt.
V 1916 Bridgman, M. A. W., Sub-Lt., R.N.V.R.
S 1909 Brierley, R. W., Capt., 21st Lancers, attd. M.G.C.
V 1900 *Brierly, J. L. (O.B.E.), Bt. Major, Gen. List ; Staff
V 1899** Brierly, S. C. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 5th Duke of Wellington's Regt., attd. 4th K.O. Yorkshire L.I.
P 1911* ‡Briggs, D. H. C., Major, R.F.A.
P 1909 Briggs, R. M. C., Lt., R.F.A.
S 1913 †Briggs, R. S., Lt., 7th West Yorkshire Regt.
L 1887 Bright, J. G., Pte., 2nd Sportsman's Batt., R. Fusiliers
Master Brigstocke, Rev. W. O., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
P 1907* †Bristowe, R. O., Lt., 2nd Devonshire Regt.
P 1911 †Bristowe, S., Pte., H.A.C.
S 1893 Broadbent, H. P. O., Lt., Bedfordshire Yeomanry
W 1916 Broadway, P. R., Lt., Gurkhas
g 1878** †Broadwood, R. G. (C.B.), Lieut.-General
P 1917 Brocklesby, D. L. (A.F.C.), 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
S 1917 Brodie, W. J. W., 2nd Lt., R.A.S.C.
H 1912 ‡Brook, G. R. C., Capt., 1st Connaught Rangers
g 1894 Brooke, T., Major, Yorkshire Dragoons
B 1911 Brooke, Alder B., Capt., R.A.S.C.
g 1886 Brooksbank, P. (M.C.), Capt., 60th Rifles, attd. Queen's Westminsters
D 1883 Brooksbank, R. G., formerly 14th (King's) Hussars, Major, Labour Corps
H 1884 *Broomhead, G., Capt., Remount Service
V 1914 *Brough, P. H. L. (M.C.), Lt., 23rd Northumb. Fusiliers
D 1910 Broughton, A. D., Capt., R.A.F.
G 1906 Brown, A. M., 2nd Lt., Duke of Lancaster's Own Yeo.
D 1896 Brown, B. H., Major, R.G.A.
g 1899 Brown, E., Lt., 5th The Queen's
G 1906 *Brown, F. G. (O.B.E., Order of the Nile), Major, R.F.A. & R.A.F. (Tech.)
G 1884 Brown, G. Davison, Major, 5th attd. 11th R. Fusiliers
R 1909 Brown, G. F., Capt., 1st Co. of Lond. Yeo., attd. Tank Corps
L 1903*** ‡‡Brown, G. L. (D.S.O., Croix de Guerre), Lt.-Col., 11th Middlesex Regt., attd. 12th East Surrey Regt.
G 1890 *Brown, H. R. S. (D.S.O.), Major, 1st E. Yorkshire Regt.
g 1911 Brown, H. S. (M.C.), Major, 8th R. West Kent Regt.
V 1912* ‡‡Brown, W. E. L. (M.C.), Lt., 10th Cheshire Regt.
g 1911 †Brown, W. S., Capt., R.A.M.C.
V 1892*** †Browne, G. Buckston (D.S.O.), Major, R.F.A.
S 1916 Brownhill, C. N. (M.C.), Capt., R.F.A.
P 1918 Browning, H. W. S., Midshipman, H.M.S. *Sydney*
V 1910 ‡Bruce, R. M. (M.C.), Bt. Major, 5th Gurkhas

B 1899 Bruce, T. J. (M.C.), Capt., 2nd Queen's Westminsters
B 1899 Bruce, W. W., Capt., 2nd Queen's Westminsters
L 1906 Bruton, H. M., Pte., Canadian Railway Troops
D 1886 Bryant, C. E. L., Capt., R.E. (Signals)
G 1905 *Buchanan, J. N. (D.S.O., M.C.), Major, 2nd Grenadier Guards
V 1914 ‡Buchanan, K., Lt., 10th The Black Watch
S 1916 Buckler, A. R., Pte., R.F.A.
P 1893 Buckley, G., Pte., R.A.S.C., attd. R.G.A.
W 1904*****‡Buckley, W. P. (D.S.O., Belgian Croix de Guerre), Bt. Major, Duke of Cornwall's L.I.
B 1904 *Buckmaster, H. S. G. (O.B.E.), Bt. Major, Bucks. Batt., Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.; Special Appointment
D 1899 *Bucknill, T. A. T. (O.B.E.), Capt., Surrey Yeomanry; Deputy Judge Advocate-General
g 1904 Bull, H. J., Lt., R.E.
W 1911 Bull, L. J. F., Capt., R.A.M.C.
H 1907 †Bullen, W. F., 2nd Lt., 10th The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
B 1903 Bullock, H. M. (M.B.E., Legion of Honour), Capt., 3rd Scots Guards
H 1894 *Bulstrode, C.V. (D.S.O., T.D., M.D.), Lt.-Col., R.A.M.C.
H 1897**‡Bulstrode, Rev. R., Senior Chaplain, attd. G.H.Q.
g 1912 Burberry, T. M., Lt., R.A.S.C.
L 1912 ‡Burdon, N. E., Lt., Durham L.I., attd. M.G.C.
W 1915 †Burdon-Sanderson, G. A. J., 2nd Lt., Northumb. Fusiliers
W 1912 Burdon-Sanderson, R. L., Capt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
W 1909 †Burgoyne Johnson, L. V., Capt., 8th Durham L.I.
P 1882 Burn, Rev. Preb. A. E. (D.D.), Chaplain
S 1914 ‡Burn, D. C. (F.R.G.S.), Lt., R.A.F.
B 1913 ‡Burnett, F. S., Lt., Norfolk Regt., attd. M.G.C.
G 1913 *p*Burnie, A. I., Capt., 8th The Buffs, attd. R.A.F.
R 1908 Burnside, B. (French Medal for saving life and Royal Humane Society Certificate), Surgeon Lt., R.N.
L 1903 Burrill-Robinson, W. R., Capt., 4th Yorkshire Regt.
V 1896 *Burrowes, P. W., Major, 25th Cavalry (F.F.)
S 1917 Burrows, B. H., 2nd Lt., 2nd Welsh Guards
V 1899 Burrows, E. A., Lt., 19th Hussars
S 1906 Burrows, Rev. H. R., Chaplain
S 1907 †Burrows, L. R., 2nd Lt., 9th Northumberland Fusiliers
L 1893 Burt, F. B., 2nd Lt., Essex Regt.
R 1911 †Burton, A., Lt., 1st The Queen's
H 1912 Burton, G. P., Lt., R.A.S.C., attd. Somerset L.I.
W 1899 Burton, H. R., 2nd Lt., R.E.
g 1902 †Burton, J. S., 2nd Lt., 2nd Grenadier Guards
R 1911 †Burton, R., Lt., 1st Sherwood Foresters
G 1905 Burton, T. G. H., Capt., 4th York & Lancaster Regt.
L 1882 Burton-Brown, F. H. (M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
g 1908 Bury, C. O. H., (M.C.), Capt., Hertfordshire Yeomanry
G 1894 Bush, F. R., Major, R.A.F. (Admin.)
G 1913 Bush, J. R., Lt., M.G.C.
L 1916 Bushby, N. H. (M.C.), Lt., 4th Coldstream Guards
L 1903 Bushell, W. F., Lt., Herefordshire Regt.
V 1916 ‡Butcher, A. H. G. (M.C.), Lt., 5th Coldstream Guards
V 1883****‡Butler, A. T. (C.M.G.), Lt.-Col., R.G.A.
V 1897 Butler, C. W., Major, Military Accounts Dept., I.A.
D 1904 Butler, C. W. L., Trooper, East African Mounted Rifles
P 1894 †Butler, F. M., Capt., R.F.A.
P 1902 *Butler, F. W. (O.B.E.), Capt., R.A.S.C.
V 1896 Butler, H. B., Pte., Nigeria Land Contingent

P 1899 Butler, P. P., Capt., R.A.M.C.
P 1901 Butler, T. L., Capt., R.A.S.C.
V 1913 Butler, T. R. F., Orderly, Red Cross Hospital, Belgrade
R 1906‡‡Butler, W. B. (M.C.), Capt., 3rd The Border Regt.
V 1882**Butler, W. J. C. (C.B.), formerly 5th Dragoon Guards; Brigadier-General
H 1910‡pButt, T. B., Capt., 2nd K.O. Yorkshire L.I.
g 1895***Butter, C. A. J. (O.B.E.), Scottish Horse; Col. & Deputy Director Air Ministry
g 1906 †Butter, H. J., Capt., 8th The Black Watch
L 1894 Butts, L. M., Lt., R.A.O.C.
g 1896 Buzzard, A. D., Capt., I.A.R.O.
g 1890 Buzzard, E. F. (M.D.), Col., R.A.M.C.
G 1901 †Byatt, H. V., Capt., R.A.M.C., attd. The Rifle Brigade
g 1912**†Bryne-Johnson, J. V., Capt., 2nd The Rifle Brigade

L 1916 †Cadell, R. L., 2nd Lt., R.E.
V 1917 Calder Woods, G. B., 2nd Lt., Indian Army
G 1902 Caldicott, R., Capt., R.A.S.C.
H 1901*‡Caldwell, K. F. T. (Italian Silver Medal for Military Valour), Major, R.F.A.
G 1903 †Callingham, S. B., Lt., 6th Norfolk Regt.
G 1912*†Calverley, G. W. (D.S.O.), Lt., R. Irish Rifles & R.F.C.
H 1895 Calvert, H., Capt., 4th Loyal North Lancashire Regt.
W 1917 Cameron, D. R. M., 2nd Lt., 1st Cameron Highlanders
V 1917 Camidge, W. G., Sub-Lt., H.M.S. *Téméraire*
G 1886 Campbell, C. H., Major, formerly 8th Hussars; Staff
W 1902 Campbell, C. H. Gordon, 2nd Lt., M.G.C.(Motor)
S 1894 Campbell, D. W., Lt.; Interpreter
S 1908*‡‡Campbell, G. F. (D.S.O.), Major, R.G.A.
S 1889 Campbell, Hon. K. H., Sub-Lt., R.N.V.R.
W 1900**‡Campbell, R. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 3rd Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders, attd. 12th Tank Corps
B 1912 †Cantle, L. H., Lt., Surrey Yeomanry & R.F.C.
P 1886 Cape, C. F., Capt., City of London Yeo., attd. R.A.F.
P 1884***†Cape, G. A. S. (C.M.G.), Brigadier-General, R.A.
P 1888**‡Cape, H. A. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 5th (R. Irish) Lancers
V 1895 Cappel, H. J. L., Major, R.A.F. (Admin.)
G 1904 Cappel, N. L., Lt., R.N.V.R.
V 1914 †Capron, T. H. O., Lt. & Adjt., 5th Essex Regt.
H 1917 Card, A. T. T., 2nd Lt., 1st R. Lancaster Regt.
L 1892****Carden, A. D. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R.E., attd. R.A.F.
S 1915 ‡Cardew, C. B., Lt., R.E.
B 1906 †Cardew, G. E. (M.C.), Capt., 4th Devonshire Regt., attd. Durham L.I.
G 1899 Cardinall, E. J. H., Capt., 72nd Seaforth Highrs. of Canada
g 1900 Carey, H. D., Lt., 9th Devonshire Regt.
P 1888 *Carlyon, G., Lt.-Col., 7th South Lancashire Regt.
L 1909 Carlyon-Britton, R. C., Sub-Lt., R.N.V.R.
B 1892 Carnegie, A. B. S., Capt., R.G.A.
V 1902 Carroll, H. E., Lt., R.E.; Ministry of Munitions
S 1884 *Carruthers, F. J., Bt. Lt.-Col., formerly K.O.S.B. Deputy Assistant Director, War Office
R 1914 Carruthers, H. St. J., Capt., 7th attd. 2/11th Gurkhas
H 1884 Carson, T., Major, 8th R. Irish Regt.
V 1905 †Carter, A. D. D., Lt., 4th Gurkhas
L 1893*†Cartland, J. B. F., Capt., Major, 1st Worcestershire Regt.
H 1914 †Cartwright, E. P. St. G., 2nd Lt., 4th Leinster Regt., attd. M.G.C.

P 1912 †Carver, B. A., 2nd Lt., 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons
P 1906 *Carver, G. A., Major, R.F.A.
P 1905 †Carver, O. A., Capt., East Lancashire R.E.
G 1904 †Casley, H. de C., Lt., 6th Yorkshire Regt.
S 1911 Caslon, R. S., Lt., R.F.A.
H 1904 Castle, H. H., Capt., R.A.M.C.
W 1917 Catto, F. E., 2nd Lt., attd. 3rd The Black Watch
G 1913 †Causton, J. P., Capt., 6th Hampshire Regt.
g 1906 ‡Cavaye, R. J. (M.B.E.), Capt., 3rd Cameron Highlanders
S 1904 Cave-Brown, H., Capt., 23rd Cavalry (F.F.)
S 1877 *Cavendish, Hon. W. E. (M.V.O.), formerly Grenadier Guards; Brigadier-General
B 1915 Cawston, E., Capt., R.A.S.C.
B 1916 †Cawston, G., 2nd Lt., The Queen's & R.A.F.
L 1902 †Cazalet, C. M., Capt., New Zealand Infantry Brigade Staff, attd. Canterbury Mounted Rifles
W 1887 †Center, W. R., Fleet Surgeon, H.M.S. *Russell*
S 1914 ‡Chadwick, A. B. (M.C.). Lt., R.F.A.
L 1914 Chadwick, J., Driver, British Red Cross
S 1913 ‡Chambers, A. S. (M.C.), Capt., 1st Grenadier Guards
V 1899 Chambers, T. B. W., Lt., I.A.R.O.
S 1910 Chambers, W. J. B., Lt., R.F.A.
S 1910 Chambers Hunter, W. K. A., Pte., 7th Seaforth Highlanders
R 1914** Chamier, S. E. (M.C.), Capt., R.F.A.
V 1898 Champneys, A. L., Lt., W. Lancs. Divl. R.E.
V 1899 †Chance, A. F., Capt., R.F.A.
V 1900** †Chance, E. S., Lt.-Col., 2nd Dragoon Guards (Queen's Bays), attd. 6th Leicestershire Regt.
W 1915 Chancellor, F. B., Lt., 2nd Dragoon Guards (Queen's Bays)
B 1906 Chandler, A., Orderly, British Red Cross
R 1908 Chandos Pole, G. R., Capt., 7th (Queen's Own) Hussars
W 1898 Channell, W. T. T., Lt., R.A.S.C.
D 1889 †Chaplin, F. H., Major, Hampshire R.G.A.
g 1905 †Chapman, J., Capt., 21st Manchester Regt.
B 1900 Chapple, H. T., Driver, R.A.S.C.
B 1904 Chapple, J. H., Capt., 8th Worcs. Regt., attd. Labour Corps
P 1916 Charrington, H. N., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
S 1896 Charteris, R. L., Capt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
R 1908 †Chattock, C. A., Pte., R. Warwickshire Regt.
L 1902 Cheale, A. R., Major, 4th R. West Kent Regt.
P 1900 Chearnley, C. L., Lt., R.G.A.
G 1904 *Cherry, R. G. (M.C., Russian Order of St. Stanislas), Lt.-Col., R.A. & R.A.F. Staff
G 1890 *p* Chetwynd-Stapylton, B. H., Lt.-Col., 1st Cheshire Regt.
W 1905 *Chetwynd-Stapylton, G. B., Major, 5th E. Surrey Regt.
G 1888 †Chetwynd-Stapylton, G. J., Major, R.F.A.
H 1917 Chevis, W. J. C., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
V 1908 Childe, H. N., Capt., Yorkshire Dragoons
W 1910 †Chittenden, A. G. B., 2nd Lt., 2nd Manchester Regt.
G 1889 Chittock, G. C., Lt., R. Defence Corps
W 1887 *Chitty, A. W., Lt.-Col., 126th Baluchistan Infantry
B 1912 ‡Cholmeley, R. A. C., Lt., 10th East Surrey Regt.
H 1902** Cholmley, R. S. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., Duke of Wellington's Regt., attd. 3/4th King's African Rifles
g 1896 †Cholmondeley, C. A. J., Capt., 2nd The Border Regt.
g 1915 Cholmondeley, H. G., Lt., 60th Rifles
V 1913 †Church, A. G. W., Capt., 5th Devonshire Regt.
g 1896 Churchill, G. S., Capt., R.E.

V 1915 †Clark, A. M., 2nd Lt., 1st The Border Regt.
V 1912 *p*Clark, A. M. M., Capt., 2/7th Gurkhas
V 1904 Clark, W. H., Capt., 5th Cavalry, I.A.
H 1901 *p*Clarke, A. C., Major, 8th Sherwood Foresters
G 1916 *Clarke, B. M., 2nd Lt., 1st Coldstream Guards
W 1906 *Clarke, D. A. (M.B.E.), Capt., 5th South Staffs. Regt.
P 1915 Clarke, D. W., Lt., R.F.A., attd. R.A.F.
V 1909**Clarke, E. J. (Croix de Guerre), Major, 7th Leeds Rifles, attd. Army Cyclist Corps
H 1902****Clarke, G. (O.B.E.), Bt. Major, 8th Sherwood Foresters; D.A.Q.-M.-G.
H 1917 †Clarke, H. W., Lt., R.A.F.
H 1914 Clarke, N. W., Lt., Bedfordshire Regt.
L 1891****Clarke, R. J. (C.M.G., D.S.O., T.D., Ordre du Mérite Agricole, Croce di Guerra), Lt.-Col., 4th R. Berkshire Regt., attd. 201st Russian Relief Batt., M.G.C.
G 1895 Clay, F. H., Lt., R.A.S.C.
S 1896 Clay, H. J., Lt., General List; Interpreter
H 1913 †Claye, C. G., Lt., 5th Sherwood Foresters, attd. R.A.F.
B 1903 ‡Clayton, G. F., Capt., The Queen's, attd. R.A.F. (Admin.)
V 1911 ‡Cleave, J. C. T., Pte., H.A.C. & Lt., 7th (D.C.O.) Rajputs
d 1879*****‡‡Cleeve, E. S., Col., R.F.A.
d 1879 †Cleeve, F. J. S., Bt. Col., R.F.A.
H 1915 Cleland, J. W. C., Lt., 2nd R. Fusiliers
W 1904****‡‡Clemens, L. A. (O.B.E., M.C., Croix de Guerre), Bt. Major, 2nd South Lancashire Regt.
H 1915 ‡Clement Brown, R. S., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
L 1916 Clements, L. J., 2nd Lt., R.A.F. (Tech.); Admiralty Meteorological Department
L 1914 Clements, N. C., Lt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
L 1896 *Cleminson, C. R. D. (D.S.O.), Major, 12th The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
W 1903 †Clerk, B., Capt. & Adjt., 82nd Punjabis, attd. 59th Scinde Rifles
D 1876 Cleveland, H. F. (C.I.E.), Col.; Dep. Dir.-General, I.M.S.
H 1908**‡Clifford, E. C. (D.S.O., M.C.), Major, 3rd W. Riding Bde., R.F.A.
S 1907 ‡Close, J. B., Capt., 3rd The Queen's
R 1898*‡Coates, E. C. (O.B.E.), Capt., form. 15th Hussars; A.P.-M.
G 1908‡‡Coates, W. G., Capt., 7th London Bde., R.F.A.
H 1882**Cobbold, E. C. (C.B.), Lt.-Col., 2nd K.O. Yorkshire L.I.
L 1911 Cobbold, G. W. N., 2nd Lt., R.E.
V 1909 Cockayne, A. A. (D.S.C.), Surgeon-Lt., H.M.S. *Zoroaster*
V 1899 *Cockayne, E. A. (M.D.), Surgeon-Lt., R.N.
D 1905‡‡Cockburn, A. S., Lance-Sergt., Middlesex Regt.
H 1873 Cockburn, Sir R. (Bart.), Major, 7th King's Shropshire L.I.
L 1885 Cockle, M. J. D., Capt., 10th The Border Regt.
G 1876**†Cole, A. W. G. Lowry (C.B., D.S.O.), formerly R. Welsh Fusiliers; Brigadier-General
S 1905**‡*p*Cole-Hamilton, H. A. W. (D.S.O.), Major, York & Lancaster Regt., attd. 1st W. Yorkshire Regt.
S 1898 Coleridge, J. D., Lt., R.N.V.R.
S 1906 ‡Coleridge, P. H. (M.C.), Capt., Sherwood Foresters
W 1897 †Collcutt, P. M. B., Lt., 6th East Yorkshire Regt.
V 1913 †Coller, C. M., Capt., 4th Norfolk Regt.
W 1898 Collet, G. G., Major, R.A.M.C.
L 1912 ‡Collier, J. T., Capt., R.A.F.
g 1911 Collier, O. P. C., Lt., R.E.
S 1907 †Collingwood, C., Capt., 4th South Lancashire Regt.

D 1907 Collins, G. F. S. (O.B.E., I.C.S.), Capt., 110th Mahrattas; Recruiting Officer
D 1903**‡‡Collins, H. S. (D.S.O.), Major, 1st K. Shropshire L.I.
g 1909 Collins, J. R., Capt., Q.O.R. Glasgow Yeo., attd. Ind. Cav.
g 1899 Collins, R. J. D., Lt., R.A.S.C.
G 1883***Collins, W. F. (D.S.O., Russian Order of St. Stanislas), Lt.-Col., R. Scots Greys & 6th Reserve Cavalry
W 1912 ‡Collis-Bird, D., 2nd Lt., 6th City of London Rifles
D 1886 *Collison, C. S. (D.S.O.), Bt. Col., 5th Middlesex Regt.
W 1895 Colls, O. B., Lt., R.N.V.R.
S 1892***Collum, H. W. A. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R.A.S.C.
S 1907 Colmore, L. A., Lt., R.A.S.C.
P 1888 *Colquhoun, A. S., Lt.-Col., K.O. Yorks. L.I., attd. R.D.C.
S 1906 Colquhoun, G. R. E., Major, R.A.M.C.
W 1890 *Colquhoun, Grant A. (Order of the Nile), Lt.-Col., formerly Highland L.I.; Commandant, Suez Canal Police
W 1890**Colquhoun Grant, S. (O.B.E., T.D.), Capt., Herts. Yeomanry; Staff
G 1915‡‡Colthurst, P. B., Lt., R.E.
S 1912‡‡‡Colville, D. J., Capt., 6th The Cameronians
S 1902 Colvin, E. J. D., Major, Indian Army
S 1888 *Colvin, J. M. C. (V.C.), Lt.-Col., R.E.; Indian Staff
S 1878 *Combe, L. (C.B.E.), formerly The Cameronians; Brigadier-General
L 1903 Compton Bracebridge, Rev. J., Chaplain
G 1903 Comyn, H. F., Capt., R.A.M.C., attd. London Regt.
S 1897 Coningham, W. R., Capt., 33rd Punjabis
B 1898 *Conlan, V. D. R. (D.S.O.), Major, R.A.S.C.
G 1913 Connell, W. C. (M.C.), Capt., East Kent Yeomanry, attd. 6th The Buffs
g 1910 Connor, F. G., Lt., R.A.S.C.
g 1896*‡Constable, G. S. (M.C., T.D.), Lt.-Col., 4th R. Sussex Regt.
V 1908 ‡Constant, E. D., Lt., 3rd R. Sussex Regt.
D 1892**Conway-Gordon, E. C. W., Lt.-Col., Skinner's Horse
H 1879 Cook, H. G. G. (C.B.E., M.D.), Lt.-Col., R.A.M.C.
g 1915 Cooke, G. C. S. B., Lt., R.G.A.
g 1917 Cooke, R. B. B. B., 2nd Lt., attd. 17th Lancers
L 1904 *Cooke, P. A. (O.B.E., M.C.), Capt., 60th Rifles & Gen. List
G 1897 Cooke-Yarborough, O. F., Capt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
G 1887 Cooper, A. S., Capt. & Adjt., Depôt, Cheshire Regt.
L 1912 ‡Cooper, C. G. T., (M.C.) Lt., R.E.
g 1907 ‡Cooper, G. M. (M.C.), Lt., 1st Scots Guards
g 1896 Cooper, L. G., Lt., R.A.S.C.
V 1905 †Cooper, P., Lt., M.G.C.
H 1888 Cooper, W. H., Capt., R.A.S.C.
g 1896 Cope, A. A. R., Capt., I.A.R.O., attd. Mounted Artillery
S 1910 *Copner, C. J. P., Capt., S. Wales Borderers, attd. R.A.F.
g 1904 †Cornish, C. L., Lt., 2nd Highland L.I.
g 1896 Cornish, H. D., Lt., R.G.A.
G 1904**Cornock-Taylor, C., Capt., London Scottish; Asst. Censor
G 1902*†Cornock-Taylor, G. (C.B.E.), Lt.-Col., Special List
L 1876 Corrance, H. C., form. R. Sussex Regt., Capt., T.F. Res.
S 1874*aCorrie, A. W. (T.D.), Major, formerly Shropshire Yeomanry; Area Commandant, R. Defence Corps
U 1878 Cory (*formerly* Jones), E. J. T. (O.B.E., T.D., M.D.), Major, R.A.M.C.
g 1903 Cotton, G., Lt., 6th London Regt., attd. R.E.

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a Died at Bournemouth, April 4, 1919.

L 1910 Coulson, N., Lt., 8th (King's R. Irish) Hussars
L 1899 Coulson, T. E. (M.D.), Major, R.A.M.C.
P 1909**†Coulter, W. H., Lt., 5th (R. Irish) Lancers
G 1869*aCourtenay, E. R. (C.B., C.M.G.), formerly 11th Hussars, Brigadier-General; Dep. Adj.-General, 2nd Army
S 1909 †Courthope-Munroe, J. W., 2nd Lt., R.A.S.C.
H 1898 *Courtney, H. G., Lt., R.G.A.
P 1912 Coutts, H. A. T., Lt., R.A.S.C.
D 1898 Cow, N., Lt., Inns of Court O.T.C.
B 1895 Coward, C. R., British Red Cross
V 1885 *Cowburn, A. D. (M.D.), Surgeon Commander, R.N.V.R.
g 1885 bCowell, A. V. J., Capt., 6th The Rifle Brigade
P 1907 †Cowie, A. G., Capt., 2nd Seaforth Highlanders
H 1878**Cowie, A. H. W. (C.M.G.), Brigadier-General, R.E.
H 1883 Cowie, D. W. G., Lt., attd. R.A. Indian Personnel
H 1882 *Cowie, E. L., Lt.-Col., 1st West India Regt.
P 1905 ‡Cowie, H. C., Capt., R.E.
H 1889*†Cowie, H. N. R. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 1st Dorset Regt.
H 1889*‡Cowie, R. M. (D.S.O.), Surgeon-Major, 1st Life Guards
S 1912 Cowper, J. E., Capt., 4th Hampshire Regt.
B 1908*‡Cox, D. A. (M.C.), Capt., 2nd East Yorkshire Regt.
B 1913 Cox, E. D. (M.C.), Lt., R.F.A.
D 1901 Cox, G. H. (A.F.C.), Major, 3rd N. Staffs. Regt. & R.A.F.
g 1877*****‡Cox, Sir H. V. (K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.S.I., Serbian Order of the White Eagle), Lieut.-General; Military Secretary, India Office
g 1892 Crace, E. G., Pte., Australian Infantry
R 1915 Craggs, E. W. F., 2nd Lt., R.E.
G 1901*‡Craggs, G. S., Major, Alberta Regt.
R 1912 †Craig, A. F., Capt., 4th R. W. Kent Regt., attd. M.G.C.
g 1893 Crane, G. A., Lt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
g 1897**Crane, L. F. (O.B.E., Croce di Guerra), Capt., Loyal North Lancashire Regt. & General List
g 1896 Crane, R. E. (O.B.E.), Major, 3rd L.N. Lancs. Regt.; Staff
W 1903**†Craufurd, J. G., Capt., 37th Dogras
S 1916 Craven, C. B., Lt., 5th attd. 1st The Rifle Brigade
G 1916 Crawford, J. E. L., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
B 1912 †Crawford, K., Capt., R.A.F.
B 1911 †Crawford, W. C., 2nd Lt., R.F.C.
G 1910 ‡Cresswell Hobbs, B. G., Capt., 3rd attd. 1st Northumberland Fusiliers
D 1887 Cripps, Rev. A. S., Chaplain, B.E. African Exp. Force
g 1904 *Cripps, E. S., Major, R.A.F.; Staff
g 1900 Cripps, F. E., Lt., R.A.S.C.
V 1910 †Crisp, R., 2nd Lt., 5th attd. 8th The Buffs
H 1909**‡‡Critchley-Salmonson, D. G. C. (M.C.), Major, 1st R. Scots Fusiliers
D 1912**‡‡Croft, D. W. (D.S.O., M.C.), Major, 5th South Wales Borderers
H 1905 †Croft, J. A. C., 2nd Lt., 4th R. Warwickshire Regt., attd. 2nd Duke of Wellington's Regt.
R 1912 ‡Crompton, E. L., Lt. Queen's Westminsters & M.G.C.
R 1906 ‡Crompton, G. R., Lt., Hampshire Regt.
R 1906 Crompton, H. D., Capt., R.A.F.
B 1916 †Crooks, E. N., 2nd Lt., 60th Rifles
H 1883 †Cropper, John (M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C., H.M.S. *Britannic*

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a Died in London, March 29, 1919.
b Died at Sheerness, January 29, 1915.

S 1910 *Cropper, P. G., Capt., 14th (King's) Hussars
D 1899 Croshaw, F. P., Lt., 6th Yorkshire Regt.
D 1898 Cross, A., Lt., Queen's Own R. Glasgow Yeomanry
H 1893 Cross, C. W. (O.B.E.), Lt.-Cdr., R.N.V.R.; Motor Boat Res.
P 1901***‡‡‡Cross, E. G. K. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 7th Hussars, attd. 8th Manchester Regt.
B 1911*‡Crosse, T. G. (M.C.), Major, R.G.A.
B 1890 Crossman, P., Lt., Essex Yeomanry
G 1885 Crowdy, W. M., Capt., 3rd Devonshire Regt.
B 1894 Crowe, H. W. (M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
g 1879****Crowe, J. H. V. (C.B., Order of St. Maurice and St Lazarus), Brigadier-General, R.A.
H 1907 *Crowther, H. O. (M.B.E.), Capt., I.A.R.O., attd. 119th Inf.
B 1913 Cubitt, R. G., Capt., 5th Norfolk Regt.
W 1916 Cubitt, W. P., Sub-Lt., H.M.S. *Vancouver*
g 1901***Cumberbatch, H. C. (O.B.E., M.C.), Bt. Major, Yorkshire Regt.
W 1908***‡Cumberlege, G. F. J. (D.S.O., M.C., Croce di Guerra), Capt., Oxford & Bucks. L.I.
G 1900 Cundell, J., Lt., R.A.S.C.
g 1906*‡Cundy-Cooper, O. S. (M.C.), Capt., R. Fusiliers
V 1914 Cunliffe-Owen, A. R., 2nd Lt., 2nd Welsh Guards
D 1914 *Cunningham, H. G. U. (M.C.), Capt., 1st attd. 5th R. Irish Regt.
D 1911**Cunningham, St. C. U. (M.C.), Capt., R.F.A.; Staff
S 1896 Curling, W. G., Major, R.H.A.
g 1900 Currey, C. O., Lt., R.F.A.
g 1895 Currey, H. W., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
g 1889 Currie, L. C., Capt., R.A.S.C.
W 1897‡‡Curtis, W. H., Lt., 8th Sherwood Foresters
P 1893 Curwen, C., Capt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
W 1911 †Curwen, H. S., Lt., 7th Norfolk Regt.
W 1900 Curwen, J. E., Pte., The Artists' Rifles O.T.C.
g 1902 †Curwen, W. J. H., Capt., 6th R. Fusiliers
V 1902 †Cuthbertson, E. H., Lt., 4th R. Warwickshire Regt.

H 1914 Daintree, G. W., Lt., 3rd Durham L.I.
R 1915 Daldy, A. J., Lt., Indian Infantry
S 1893 Daldy, A. W., Major, Indian Army
S 1913‡‡‡Dallas, A. S. (M.C. with Bar), Capt., R.F.A.
S 1899 Dalrymple, H. R. (M.C.), Capt., 3rd Scots Guards
S 1906*†Dalrymple, I. D. (M.C.), Capt., 2nd H.L.I., attd. K.O.S.B.
H 1907 ‡Dalton, A. H., Capt., 3rd (K.O.) Hussars & R.A.F.
W 1915 ‡Dalton, J. C. N., Lt., 6th The Buffs
g 1905 †Damant, H. K., Air Mechanic, R.F.C.
V 1904*‡Dane, R. (M.C.), Major, 21st Cavalry (Daly's Horse)
W 1916 Darby, H. G., Lt., 1st Irish Guards
H 1899 Darley, C. F., Lt., R.H.A.
L 1886 Darley, H. A. C., Major, R.F.A.
H 1909 Darley, T. B., Capt., R.F.A.
D 1892 *p*Darvell, S., Capt., Denbigh Hussars, attd. R. Welsh Fus.
L 1906 Darwin, G. M., 2nd Lt., 2/13th G.I.P., Ry. Batt. I.D.F.
L 1904 Darwin, J. H. (I.C.S.), 2nd Lt., I.A.R.O.
W 1898 ‡Dashwood, J. P., Capt., R.F.A.
W 1910 Daubeny, H. L. G., Lt., 6th Norfolk Regt., attd. Lab.Corps
S 1892 Davey, C. F. (M.C.), Bt. Major, formerly Hampshire Regt.; Staff
S 1892 Davey, Rev. G. L., Chaplain, attd. Artists' Rifles O.T.C.
g 1888 *Davey, G. W., Major, R.A.S.C.

g 1897 †Davey, J. S., Lt., North Somerset Yeomanry
g 1917 †Davey, T. K., 2nd Lt., 6th attd. 1st The Rifle Brigade
S 1901*†Davidson, C. E. G., Capt., 6th The Buffs
g 1909 †Davidson, I. S., 2nd Lt., 1st Arg. & Suth. Highlanders
W 1911 †Davidson, L. H., Pte., 1st London Scottish
G 1909 ‡Davies, E., Lt., 1st Monmouthshire Regt.
G 1903 Davies, F. E. (M.C. with Bar), Major, Worcs. Regt. & M.G.C.
g 1910 Davies, G. H., Pte., H.A.C. & 2nd Lt., Oxf. & Bucks L.I.
R 1914 †Davies, G. S. Berrington, Lt., 5th The Rifle Brigade
H 1916 Davies, K. B., Lt., R.A.F.
H 1895 *Davies, Ll. S., Capt., T.F. Reserve ; Musketry Instructor
W 1912 Davies, L. T., Capt., 1st Lancs. Bde., R.G.A. ; A.P.-M.
S 1913 *p*Davies, T. E. H., Lt., 60th Rifles & R.F.C.
L 1879 Davis, A. H., Capt., R.A.M.C.
H 1899 Davis, H. D., Capt., R.A.M.C., attd. R.E.
H 1892‡‡Davy, G. A. C., Major, 7th Cameron Highlanders
g 1916 *p*Davy, G. M. O., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
g 1905 Dawes, M. S., Sergt., Camb. Univ. O.T.C., attd. R.E.
g 1906**Dawkins, C. G. H., Capt., R.A.S.C. (Salvage Dept.)
S 1892 ‡Dawson, A. C., Lt., 3rd Norfolk Regt.
H 1885 *Dawson, H. F., Bt. Lt.-Col., formerly R.A. ; Staff
S 1911 †Dawson, W. E., Capt., R.F.A. & R.A.F.
H 1890 Dawson, W. F., Corporal, Ladybrand Mounted Rifles
V 1895 Day, W. L. M. (O.B.E., M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
H 1888 †Deacon, E., Lt.-Col., Essex Yeomanry
W 1909 Deakin, E. C., Lt., Duke of Lancaster's Own Yeomanry
V 1914 *Dealtry, L. P., Lt., W. Lancs. Divl. Signal Co., R.E.
S 1907 Dean, C. (M.C., M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C., attd. 1st West Yorkshire Regt.
S 1905 Dean, C. W., Lt., R.A.S.C.
g 1908 Deane, H. H. R., Capt., 64th Pioneers, I.A.
G 1890 †Deane, J. H., Major, 2nd Hampshire Regt.
g 1896 Deane-Butcher, C. B., Capt., Australian Medical Corps
H 1876 *a*Deare, F. A., Lt.-Col., Depôt, R. Berkshire Regt.
g 1910 †Dearmer, C., Lt., Armoured Car Section, R.N.V.R.
G 1888 de Hamel, H. B., Capt., formerly R.G.A. Militia ; Superintendent of Police, Straits Settlements
P 1895 ‡de Hamel, H. G., Sergt., 1st London Scottish
V 1912 ‡de Jongh, A. A., Lt., M.G.C.
V 1913 de Jongh, V. H. P., Lt., 4th Manchester Regt.
W 1903 de la Penha, A. E., Capt., S. Lancs. Regt. & Labour Corps
P 1897 de la Penha, P. D., Capt., 9th R. Dublin Fusiliers
S 1885 †de la Warr, G. G. R., Earl, Lt., R.N.V.R.
R 1911 †de Lusignan, R., Lt., 1st R. Dublin Fusiliers
H 1915 de Montezuma, J. M. (M.C.), Lt., 2nd Reserve Cavalry, attd. Dorset Yeomanry
L 1906 ‡Deneke, R. H., 2nd Lt., R. Fusiliers
g 1905**†de Neufville, E. C. (D.S.O., Belgian Croix de Guerre), Major, R.G.A.
H 1902 Denison, G. L., Capt., 9th 60th Rifles
H 1910‡‡‡‡‡Denison, H. A. (M.C. with Bar), Major, 11th 60thRifles
D 1909 Denny, P. A., Capt., 1st Arg. & Suth. High., attd. R.A.F.
V 1914*†Dent, A. E., Capt., 1st 60th Rifles
D 1890******‡‡Dent, B. C. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour), Leicestershire Regt. ; Brigadier-General
D 1903 Dent, E. L., Engineer Lt., H.M.S. *London*

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a Died at Caversham, January 24, 1915.

V 1916 †Dent, R. T., 2nd Lt., 2nd The Rifle Brigade
L 1902 de Pass, H., Lt., 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons
H 1914 Dereham, H. G., Lt., 17th Lancers
P 1905**Derenburg, C. J., Major, Tank Corps
B 1902 *Dermer, L. H. C., (M.C.) Major, R.E.
G 1907 †de Rougemont, M. H., 2nd Lt., 2nd The Queen's
B 1899 ‡de St. Croix, C., Capt., 3rd R. Sussex Regt., attd. Essex Regt.
S 1911 †Devenish, G. W., Lt., R.F.A., attd. R.F.C.
S 1914‡‡Devenish, H. P., Lt., 7th East Surrey Regt.
S 1915 Devereux, W. T. C., 2nd Lt., R. Fusiliers
P 1905 *a*Dewar, A. D., 2nd Lt., R.E.
V 1914 *Dibb, G. K. (M.C., Legion of Honour), Major, R.F.A.
V 1913*‡‡Dibb, R. K., Capt., 4th East Yorkshire Regt.
P 1885 †Dick, T. A., Major, R.F.A.
L 1912 ‡Dickinson, C. O'B. (M.C.), Lt., R.G.A., attd. R.A.F.
P 1890 †Dickinson, F. A., Major, 2nd Duke of Cornwall's L.I.
H 1891 Dickinson, G. N., 2nd Lt., R. Marines
B 1908 †Dickinson, H. W., Lt., Northumberland Fusiliers
P 1893 Dickinson, S. Carey, Major, Som. L.I. ; Remount Service
g 1892 Dickinson, W. H., Capt., R.A.M.C.
S 1896 †Dickinson, W. H. E. de B., Major, E. Lancs. Bde., R.F.A.
V 1894 Dickson, E. A., 2nd Lt., R.A.S.C.
S 1889 *Dickson, W. E. (M.C.), Capt., R.A.S.C.
g 1881 *Dietz, B. R., Lt.-Col., form. 7th Dragoon Guards ; Res. Cav.
S 1885 Disraeli, C. R., Major, R. Buckinghamshire Hussars
G 1910 ‡Dixon, A. H., Capt., 6th Norfolk Regt.
W 1904 Dixon, G. C., Capt., R.A.M.C.
G 1905 Dixon, J. H., Lt., R.F.A.
G 1901 Dixon, J. K., Capt., formerly R. Fus. ; Recruiting Officer
H 1911 Dixon, R. V., Capt., 2nd K.O. Scottish Borderers
P 1909 Dixson, H. F., Lt., 7th Hussars, attd. R.E. (Signals)
S 1878 Dobbie, C. F., Bt. Lt.-Col., 9th Bhopal Infantry ; Staff
S 1911‡‡*p*Dobbie, E. T., Major, R.F.A.
W 1906 *Dobbie, G. S. (M.C.), Capt., 1st Sherwood Foresters
S 1877 Dobbie, H. H., Bt. Col., Indian Army
S 1897******‡Dobbie, W. G. S. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour, Belgian Order of Leopold, French & Belgian Croix de Guerre), B. Lt.-Col., R.E. ; Staff
G 1891 Dobbs, H. H., Capt., R.A.O.C.
V 1885**Dobell, Sir C. M. (K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., A.D.C., Legion of Honour), Major-General
V 1916 ‡Dobell, F. C., Lt., 42nd R. Highlanders of Canada
V 1916 Dobell, S. H., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
W 1902‡‡Dockery, G. V., Pte., 4th R. Fusiliers
L 1918 Dodd, T. A. J. M., 2nd Lt., Grenadier Guards
H 1912 *p*Dodson, L. (M.C.), Lt., 9th S. Staffs. Regt. & R.A.F.
V 1907*‡Doll, M. H. C., Capt., 13th Hussars
V 1907 †Doll, P. W. R., Lt., 1st The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
V 1904 *Doll, W. A. M. (M.S.M.), 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
W 1891 †Donahoo, M. G. (M.C.), Capt., 8th K.O. Yorkshire L.I.
H 1902 Donaldson, A., Capt., 34th Sikh Pioneers
H 1906 Donaldson, E., Capt., R.A.M.C.
H 1901**p*Donaldson, M., Major, R.A.M.C.
H 1897*†Donaldson, N., Lt., R.F.A.
P 1903 Donne, C. E., Engineer Sub-Lt., R.N.R.

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a Died at Boxmoor, June 22, 1919.

G 1914‡‡Doresa, B. S., Lt., R.F.A.
S 1864 *Dorling, F., Bt. Col., formerly R. Sussex Regt. ; A.P.-M.
G 1876 *Dorling, L. (C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.), Col., A.P.D.
G 1907*‡*p*Dorling, L. H. G. (M.C.), Capt., R.F.A.
L 1910 †Dorrell, H. G. H., 2nd Lt., 10th Durham L.I.
S 1914*†Douglas-Willan, S. W. H. S., Capt., 2nd S. Staffs. Regt.
V 1907 Dowding, K. T. (D.F.C.), Major, 4th The Queen's & R.A.F.
G 1915*‡Dowling, F; B. B. (M.C.), Capt., East Surrey Regt.
W 1910 †Dowling, G. C. W., Capt., 2nd attd. 7th 60th Rifles
S 1910 ‡Dowling, V. B., Lt., Cyclist Batt., attd. West Yorkshire Regt.
L 1893 *Down, F. P., Capt., R.G.A.
L 1909 Down, J. McL., Capt., 2nd Wiltshire Regt.
H 1902**‡Downes, O. C. (D.S.O., M.C.), Major, 1st The Rifle Bde.
H 1912 †Downing, G. G. B., Lt., R.F.C.
S 1903 *Dowson, N. C., Capt., R.A.S.C.
S 1899 Dowson, W. C., Driver, R.E.
d 1897 Doxat, M. W. de M., Lt., R.N.V.R.
G 1908 *p*Drake-Brockman, F. T., Capt., 7th Hariana Lancers
R 1892 *Drake-Brockman, H. G., Major, R.A.M.C.
G 1909 Drake-Brockman, R.A., Capt., R.E., attd. 3rd Sappers & Miners
G 1903 †Drew, A. A., Lt., 2nd attd. 4th The Cameronians
B 1909 Drew, B., Lt., R.A.S.C.
B 1909‡‡Drew, E. D., Capt., The Queen's & R.A.F.
B 1915 ‡Drew, E. S., Lt., R.F.A.
G 1900 Driver-Holloway, G. H., Pte., Middlesex Regt.
G 1897 ‡Driver-Holloway, T. H., Lt., R.G.A.
L 1910 *Druce, A. F. (M.C., Croix de Guerre), Lt., Surrey Yeo.
W 1911*‡Druce, J. C. (M.C.), Capt., 4th East Surrey Regt.
B 1898**Drummond, Hamilton, Major, R.A.M.C.
B 1898 *Drummond, Horsley (M.D.), Major, R.A.M.C., attd. Yeo.
L 1911 †Drummond Fraser, H. R. (M.C.), Capt., 5th Cheshire Regt., attd. 1st Herefordshire Regt.
L 1911 †Drummond, Fraser, V. M., 2nd Lt., 5th Cheshire Regt.
H 1903 †Dubs, C. E. D., Capt., 17th Lancers, attd. R.E. (Signals)
H 1909 Dubbs, C. I. A., Capt., Ayrshire Yeomanry
S 1903 Dudding, H. N. N., Major, R.F.A.
H 1906 Duff, A. S., Gunner, H.A.C.
g 1906*‡Duffin, C. G. (M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
g 1901 ‡Duffin, S. B. (Legion of Honour), Capt., R. Inniskilling Fusiliers
B 1907 Duirs, F. D., Capt., 9th Middlesex Regt.
B 1907 †Duirs, M. W., 2nd Lt., 7th K.O. Scottish Borderers
g 1914 Dumbreck, S. C., Lt., 1st (Royal) Dragoons
S 1914 †Duncan, D. A., Flight Sub-Lt., R.N.A.S.
V 1884**Duncum, H. C., Major, H.A.C., attd. R.H.A.
G 1914 †Dunlop, B. J., Lt., 3rd Grenadier Guards
B 1915 Dunlop, D., Lt., R.H.A.
V 1911 *Dunlop, G. R., Capt., The Rifle Brigade
W 1904 †Dunlop, J. G. M., 2nd Lt., 2nd R. Dublin Fusiliers
G 1914 Dunlop, L. E., Lt., 2nd Grenadier Guards
R 1914 Dunn, A. D. S., Sub-Lt., H.M.S. *Medina*
P 1901 †Dunn, G. M., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
G 1917 Dunn, J. W., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
P 1898 Dunn, T. W. N., Capt., R.A.M.C.
S 1888 Dunn-Pattison, F. H., Capt., 6th R. Munster Fusiliers
R 1901‡*p*Dupree, V., Capt., Tank Corps

H 1884 Durell, T. C. D. (Ordre du Mérite Agricole), Capt., Spec. List
D 1912 †Durrant, D. G., 2nd Lt., 5th Gloucestershire Regt.
D 1915 Durrant, J. R. G., 2nd Lt., 3rd Gloucestershire Regt.
D 1909 ‡Durrant, K. G., 2nd Lt., 5th Gloucestershire Regt.
D 1910 ‡Duttson, C., Capt., R.A.F.
R 1899 †Dyson, C., Capt., 8th Leeds Rifles
D 1894 Dyson, G., Capt., 5th Duke of Wellington's Regt.

S 1909 †Eade, A., 2nd Lt., 6th Yorkshire Regt.
S 1899 *Eaden, J. E., Lt., R.F.A.
W 1909 †Eadon, A. M., 2nd Lt., 6th Yorkshire Regt.
D 1882 Eardley, W., Capt., R.A.M.C.
S 1886 †Eardley-Russell, E. S. E. W. (M.V.O.), Lt.-Col., R.A.; Staff
G 1905 Eardley-Wilmot, E. L., Pte., New Zealand Contingent
S 1888*‡Earle, F. A., Lt.-Col., formerly R. Warwick Regt.; Staff
D 1909*a*‡Earle, N. V., Capt., 2nd The Buffs, attd. Sherwood Foresters
H 1877 *Eason-Wilkinson, G. A. (C.B.E., D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R.D.C.
G 1883 Ebden, L. P., Pte., Penang Volunteers
V 1892 Eccles, J. G. L., formerly Worcs. Regt., Lt., Labour Corps
P 1883 Eckford, A. H., Major, Remount Depôt
B 1907‡‡Ecroyd, E. C., 2nd Lt., 3rd The Border Regt., attd. R.A.F.
B 1907 ‡Ecroyd, G., Sergt., M.G.C.
B 1899 †Ecroyd, W. B., Pte., 2nd Liverpool Scottish
S 1906 *Eddis, A. McD., Lt., R.F.A.
G 1911 †Edgar, G. G., Lt., 14th 60th Rifles
L 1915 ‡Edgar, G. H. S., Lt., R.F.A., attd. R.H.A.
W 1915 ‡Edge, B. B., Lt., R.F.A.
D 1888 Edmunds, L. W. (O.B.E.), Lt.-Commander, R.N.V.R.
P 1889 Edwards, A. T., Lance-Corporal, 10th The Border Regt.
L 1874****Edwards, FitzJ. M. (C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Order of the Nile, A.D.C.), Brigadier-General, Indian Army
P 1910*p*Edwards, G. B. (M.C.), Capt., The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
G 1907 Edwards, W. N., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
V 1902**Eeles, C. A. (D.S.O.), Major, R.F.A.
W 1915 Eeles, H. S. (M.C.), Capt., 1st Northumbrian Bde., R.F.A.
S 1874**Egerton, G. G. A., (C.B.), Major-General
g 1908 *Eggar, J. G. (M.C., Order of the Nile), Capt., R.E.
G 1906 Ehrmann, A., formerly 2nd London Regt., Lt., T.F. Res.
P 1898 Eldridge, R. J., Paymaster, A.P.D.
V 1906 ‡Eley, H. G. (M.B.E.), Major, R.E. (I.W. & Docks)
g 1914 ‡Elin, G. D., Lt., West Yorkshire Regt.
G 1886 Ellington, C., Lance-Corporal, Army Salvage Corps
G 1885 Ellington G., 2nd Lt., R.E. (I.W. & Docks)
S 1891 Eliot, A. E. H., Capt., General List
S 1889 Eliot, C. E. C. (O.B.E.), Hon. Lt.-Col., R.M.; Naval Intelligence Department
S 1892 Eliot, E. G., Capt., R.G.A.
S 1889 Eliot, M. C., Lt., R.N.V.R.
g 1881 †Elliot, H., Major, 11th The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
R 1906 Ellis, B. O., Capt., 7th London Bde., R.F.A.
D 1900 Ellis, H. E. T., Lance-Corporal, M.G.C. (Motor)
P 1907 Ellis, T. P., Capt., R.A.S.C.
B 1914*‡Ellison, C. E. M. (M.C.), Lt., 3rd Grenadier Guards
P 1886 Elmslie, A. S., Major, 5th The Buffs

a Died at Woking, March 9, 1916.

R 1907 *p*Eltringham, A., Lt., 3rd Co. of Lond. Yeo., attd. Lond. Regt.
R 1910 Eltringham, H. C., 2nd Lt., R.F.C.
D 1898 Elwin, W. D., Capt., Cornwall R.E. (Electric Lights)
G 1913 Elworthy, W. R., Lt., R.G.A.
S 1908 Emby, B. A., Lt., R.A.S.C.
G 1891 Emerson, A. (Croce di Guerra, M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
g 1917 Emley, E. D., Pte., R.A.S.C.
g 1915 Emley, F. G., Sub-Lt., H.M.S. *Dolphin*
g 1909 ‡Emley, H. B., Capt., R.E.
g 1910‡‡Empson, A. (M.C., Belgian Croix de Guerre), Major, R.F.A.
V 1908 England, M. O. F., Capt., R.A.F.
H 1903 England, R. D., 2nd Lt., 15th (Bombay) Batt., I.D.F.
S 1879 *Engleheart, E. L. (C.B.E.), Bt. Lt.-Col., formerly R. Welsh Fusiliers ; Dep. Asst. Mil. Sec., War Office
H 1890 English, D. A. W., Capt., 1st Surrey Rifles, attd. R.A.F.
H 1886 English, H. H., formerly Suffolk Regt., Lt., T.F. Reserve
S 1898****Erskine, A. E. (D.S.O.), Bt. Lt.-Col., R.F.A.
P 1903 Erskine, C. E. T. (M.C.), Capt., Q.V.O. Corps of Guides
S 1917 Erskine, G. W. E. J., 2nd Lt., 60th Rifles
G 1874***Erskine, H. A. (C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E., V.D., Belgian Order of Leopold), Col. ; Deputy Director of Supplies
S 1879****Erskine, J. F. (C.B., C.M.G., M.V.O.), Scots Guards ; Brigadier-General
P 1905***‡‡Erskine, K. C. S. (M.C., Legion of Honour), Major, 5th Gurkhas
V 1896*†Erskine, W. A., Capt., R.G.A.
S 1907 Eshelby, A. D., Capt., R.G.A.
H 1905 Evan-Jones, Rev. B., Capt., R. Welsh Fusiliers
H 1906*†Evan-Jones, H. G., Lt., 1st The Welsh Regt.
g 1908 *Evan-Thomas, E. O., Capt., R.A.S.C.
V 1905 Evans, A. G., Surgeon Lt., R.N.
S 1909 †Evans, E. H. S., Capt., 18th Lancashire Fusiliers
W 1915 ‡Evans, E. S., Lt., 4th Cheshire Regt.
B 1916 Evans, H. G. M. (Croce di Guerra), Lt., 2nd The Queen's
W 1911**‡‡Evans, J. M. J. (M.C., Croix de Guerre), Bt. Major, 1st R. Welsh Fusiliers
G 1896***‡Evans, Ll. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R.E.
V 1910 †Evans, R. A., 2nd Lt., 3rd West Yorkshire Regt.
H 1907 ‡Evans, R. S., Lt., 6th K.O. Scottish Borderers
S 1903**‡Evans, W. S. (O.B.E., Croix de Guerre), Capt., The Welsh Regt., attd. R.A.F.
g 1915***Evelyn, A. L., Capt., 5th Cameron Highlanders, attd. 8th Cyclist Brigade
G 1883******Everett, Sir H. J. (K.C.M.G., C.B., Russian Order of St. Stanislas, Hellenic Order of The Redeemer, Croix de Guerre), Major-General
G 1890‡*p*Ewart, G. D. H., Major, 2nd South Lancashire Regt.
W 1910 ‡Ewart, H. J., Lt., 10th Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders
D 1901 Ewing, A. A. des V., Paymaster Lt.-Commander, R.N.
D 1914*†Ewing, A. H. (M.C. with Bar), Capt. & Adjt., 1st East Yorkshire Regt.
g 1882 Ewing, G. B., Capt., General List
B 1907*†Exell, N. J., Capt., 9th 60th Rifles
g 1878 Eyre Matcham, G. H., Capt., 3rd Wiltshire Regt.
g 1907 Eyre Matcham, J. St. L., Pte., Worcestershire Regt.

G 1909 Faber, G. V. (M.C.), Capt., R.F.A.

D 1891**Faichnie, D. C. (C.M.G.), Col., R.A.O.C.
S 1915 †Fair, J. G., Lt., D. of Lancaster's Own Yeo., attd. R.F.C.
G 1881 Falcon, R. W., formerly I.A., Lt.-Col. ; Special Appt.
D 1896 Falconer, W. H., Lt., R.G.A.
V 1912 ‡Fane, A. F. S., Capt., Northumberland Fusiliers
W 1894 Fane, F. L. (M.C.), Capt., 7th Leeds Rifles
V 1915 Fane, G. W. R. (D.S.C.), Capt., R.A.F.
P 1914 *p*Fane, H. W. N., Lt., R.F.A.
G 1902*†Farquharson, L. S., Capt., 1st The R. Scots
S 1903*‡*p*Farren, R. H., Major, R.F.A.
S 1904**Farren, Rev. W. M. A., Chaplain
L 1895 Fass, F. G., Lt., London Rifle Brigade
L 1911‡‡Faulkner, R., Capt., 6th S. Lancs. Regt. & General List
H 1914 Fawcett, T. G., Lt., 7th Leeds Rifles, attd. R.A.F.
B 1912 *Fay, R. W., Lt., 4th Northamptonshire Regt., attd. Frontier Districts Administration
R 1887**Feilden, R. M. (C.B.E., Order of the Nile), formerly Oxf. & Bucks L.I., Lt.-Col., attd. Egyptian Army
W 1909*†Fellowes, H. G. A. (M.C.), Capt., 11th (K.E.O.) Lancers
R 1914 ‡Fennell, W. J., Lt., R.F.A.
P 1916 ‡Fenwick, E. A. F., Lt., R.F.A.
R 1911‡‡Fenwicke-Clennell, E. C. (M.C.), Capt., 2/107th Pioneers
R 1914 Fenwicke-Clennell, G. E., Capt., 106th Hazara Pioneers
V 1900 Ferguson, C. B., Lt., R.A.S.C.
D 1914 ‡Ferguson, C. L., Capt., 13th 60th Rifles
D 1907 Ferguson, D. F., 2nd Lt., R.M.A.
D 1910 †Ferguson, H. M., Capt., 9th South Staffordshire Regt.
H 1903*†Ferguson, J., Major, 9th The R. Scots
D 1917 Ferguson, O. K., 2nd Lt., 5th The Rifle Brigade
V 1904*†Ferguson, P. H. (M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
V 1904 †Fergusson, J. G., 2nd Lt., 8th The Black Watch
V 1902 †Fergusson, R. A. A., Capt., Coldstream Guards
G 1910 ‡Ferreira, E. C. F., Capt., R.A.F.
G 1910 ‡Ferreira, H. M. (Croix de Guerre), Capt., R.A.F.
G 1911 *Ferreira, P. D. F., Capt., Army Cyclist Corps
S 1909‡‡Ferrier-Kerr, W. G., Capt., 1st Seaforth Highlanders
H 1916 †Finch, F. M., 2nd Lt., 2nd R. Berkshire Regt.
V 1901 Finch, W. H. M., Lt., R.E.
D 1906 *p*Finlay, F. L., Capt., 3rd attd. 2nd R. Irish Rifles
W 1905‡‡Firth, E. L., Capt., S. Irish Horse, attd. R. Irish Regt.
W 1905 ‡Firth, L. L. (M.C.), Lt., 5th (R. Irish) Lancers
R 1895 Fisher, C. S. (O.B.E.), Hon. Major ; Acting Solicitor for Navy & Army Canteen Board
L 1881 Fisher, E., Capt., 2nd (East) R. Jersey Militia
W 1902 †Fisher, F., Capt., 3rd R. West Kent Regt.
V 1912 †Fisher Smith, F., 2nd Lt., 4th (Queen's Own) Hussars
D 1912*‡Fison, F. G. C., Major,4th Suffolk R., attd. R.A.F. (Admin.)
D 1909**†Fison, J. F. L. (M.C.), Capt., 4th Suffolk Regt. ; Staff
D 1914 ‡Fison, J. R. G., Lt., R.F.A.
S 1886 *FitzClarence, Hon. H. E. (M.C.), Major, General List ; Governor of Dunkirk Military Prison
B 1915 ‡FitzGerald, E. J., Lt., 5th Coldstream Guards
d 1862 Fleet, E. J. (C.B.E.), Rear-Admiral, retired ; Capt., R.N.R., H.M.S. *Sapphire*
R 1910 *Fleischl, W. (O.B.E.), Major, R.A.O.C.
G 1912 ‡Fletcher, C. A., Capt., 3rd Devon Regt., attd. Lab. Corps
G 1907 ‡Fletcher, E. H., Lt., 3rd attd. 1st The Buffs
G 1907 Fletcher, H. K., Motor Driver, St. John Ambulance
g 1894 *Fletcher, H. N. (M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.

Master		‡Fletcher, P. C. (M.C.), Lt., 42nd (East Lancs.) Divl. Signal Company, R.E.
S	1900	†Fletcher, R. S., Capt., 1st Northumberland Fusiliers
W	1905	Flint, G. G., Capt., Hertfordshire Yeomanry
W	1899	Flower, N., Capt., R.A.M.C.
V	1899	†Floyd, J. M., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
H	1915	Focke, F. J., Corporal, The Artists' Rifles
L	1911	Focke, P. W. G., Lt., 1st Res. Garr. Batt., Suffolk Regt.
g	1898	‡Forbes, A., Lt., R. Warwickshire Regt.
L	1897***	Forbes, R. R. (D.S.O., Hellenic Order of The Redeemer), Bt. Lt.-Col., Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders
D	1912	†Ford, A. L., 2nd Lt., 12th The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
H	1894	Fordyce, R. D., Major, R. Scots Greys
V	1898	Forshaw-Wilson, K., Capt., 10th The King's(Liverpool R.)
g	1902	†Forster, H. M., Major, 8th K. O. Scottish Borderers
g	1908	Forster, N. M., Lt., 5th East Surrey Regt., attd. 19th The Queen's
g	1912	†Fosdick, J. H., Lt., 7th The Rifle Brigade
P	1892	Foster, H., Pte., 90th Winnipeg Rifles
H	1904**	Foster, T. H., Capt., R.E.
g	1909**‡‡	Fowke, A. C. F. (M.C.), Capt., 3rd attd. 2nd Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
W	1898	†Fox, G. H., 2nd Lt., R.F.A. ; Intelligence Officer
B	1910	*Fox, M. S. (M.C.), Capt., Highland L.I.
S	1914	*Fox, P. R. H. (M.C.), Lt., 1st The Buffs
g	1912‡‡	Fox-Pitt, W. A. F. Lane (M.C.), Capt., 2nd Welsh Guards
g	1875	*Fox-Pitt, W. A. Lane, Major, formerly Grenadier Guards ; Depôt Commandant
V	1905	Fox-Strangways, W. A., Pte., Suez Rifles
L	1910	‡Frame, I. McG. (M.C.), Capt., 3rd Gordon Highlanders
W	1910	Francis, T. A., Capt., 2nd R. Irish Regt., attd. R.A.F.
G	1916	Frangopulo, T. J., 2nd Lt., R. Sussex Regt.
D	1894	†Frankland, R. C. C., Capt., 3rd North Staffordshire Regt., attd. Lancashire Fusiliers
D	1895*	†Frankland, T. H. C., Bt. Major, 2nd R. Dublin Fus. ; Staff
H	1896	*Franks, D. P. C. (M.C.), Capt., R.A.S.C.
D	1894	Fraser, C. E. W., Major, 5th London Bde., R.F.A.
V	1907*‡	Fraser, C. L., Capt., 14th Durham L.I. & General List
g	1910	†Fraser, G. N., Lt., 3rd The Border Regt.
G	1900	Fraser, G. T., Capt., R.E.
g	1911	Fraser, J. K., Capt., 7th attd. 23rd Northumb. Fusiliers
S	1905	†Fraser, Hon. S., 2nd Lt., 3rd Gordon Highlanders
S	1907***‡‡	Fraser, Hon. W. (D.S.O., M.C.), Bt. Major, Gordon Highlanders
S	1903	*Fraser Tytler, J. F. (D.S.O., T.D.), Major, 1st Lovat's Scouts, attd. 10th Cameron Highlanders
S	1910	†Fraser Tytler, P. S., Capt. & Adjt., R.F.A.
S	1904	Fraser Tytler, W. K. (M.C.), Capt., 25th Cavalry (F.F.)
H	1912	‡Freeman, H., Capt., 4th West Yorkshire Regt.
B	1895	Freeman, J. (M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
V	1904	*Freeman, M. (O.B.E.), Lt.-Col., 6th Worcestershire Regt., attd. R.A.F. ; Aeronautical Dept., War Office
D	1911	†Freke Evans, F. A. H., Capt., 6th R. Lancaster Regt.
R	1909	Freke Evans, W. H., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
L	1910	Fricker, C. O., Capt., R.E.
L	1907*‡	Fricker, W. L., Major, 3rd York & Lancaster Regt., attd. M.G.C.
G	1899	*Friend, R. S. I. (D.S.O.), Major, 1st The Buffs

S 1894 *Frith, C. H. (C.B.E.), Bt. Lt.-Col., Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.; D.A.A.-G., War Office
V 1901 Frith, Rev. J. B., Chaplain
G 1904*†Frost, C. D., Capt. & Adjt., 110th Mahratta L.I.
S 1895 Frost, H. E. F., Intelligence Dept., King's African Rifles
g 1903 Frost, J. M. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., Cheshire Bde., R.F.A.
D 1894 ‡Frost, M. (M.C.), Capt., 14th Cheshire Regt., attd. Manchester Regt.
B 1909 Frost, Rev. P. R., Chaplain
g 1906*†Frost, T. L., Capt. & Adjt., 1st Cheshire Regt.
S 1916 Frowd, C. S., Lt., R.A.F.
V 1911 Froy, W. A., Lt., London Regt., attd. Indian Army
g 1903 *Fry, H. J. B. (M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
V 1886**Fryer, F. A. B., formerly 6th Dragoons, Brigadier-General
H 1901 Fulcher, E. A., Lt., 11th Hussars
L 1901*‡Fulda, J. L., Major, R. Irish Regt.
B 1912 †Fullerton, C. A. C., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
g 1913*‡‡Fullerton-Carnegie, G. D. H. (M.C.), Lt., 7th The Black Watch
g 1915 Fullerton-Carnegie, J. E., 2nd Lt., 1st The Black Watch
g 1906 Fulton, C. M., Capt., 33rd Cavalry, I.A.
L 1896 *Furber, H., Capt., 3rd The Welsh Regt.
W 1918 Furness, Sir C. (Bart.), Midshipman, R.N.V.R.
g 1891 *Furnivall, W. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R.F.A.
H 1906***‡‡‡*p*Furze, E. K. B. (D.S.O., M.C.), Bt. Major, 2nd The Queen's
H 1899 †Furze, F., Capt. & Adjt., London Rifle Brigade
H 1908 Furze, T. E. (M.C.), Capt., I.A.R.O., attd. 8th Gurkhas
W 1909**†Gabain, W. G. (M.C.), Capt., 2nd The Rifle Brigade
L 1911 Galbraith, H. G., Lt., R.G.A.
L 1904****Galbraith, J. E. E. (D.S.O.), Major, R. Fusiliers, attd. 1st King's African Rifles
G 1896*‡Gale, F. H., Capt., 1st Bedfordshire Regt.
W 1915 Galindez, C. P., Lt., R. Buckinghamshire Hussars
D 1899 Galloway, J., Capt., 20th Manchester Regt.
D 1896 Galloway, N., 2nd Lt., 12th The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
H 1916 Gamble, A. M., 2nd Lt., 5th Reserve Cavalry
H 1913‡‡Gamble, G. M., Capt., 2nd Sherwood Foresters
W 1899 Game, G. G. (M.C.), Lt., R.F.A.
W 1898*‡Game, H. C., Capt., R.F.A.
H 1906 Game, H. F. (A.F.C.), Lt., 3rd R. Warwickshire Regt., attd. R.A.F.
P 1893*****Game, P. W. (C.B., D.S.O., Legion of Honour, Order of the Crown of Italy), Brig.-General, R.F.A. & R.A.F.
G 1914 ‡Gandell, H. L., Lt., R.F.A.
P 1915 Gardiner, A. N., Lt., R.G.A., attd. R.E. (Signals)
H 1894 Gardiner, H. B., Lt., General List; Interpreter
g 1902 Gardiner, R. H., Capt., R.A.
g 1900*‡‡Gardner, J. S., Major, R.E.
G 1902 †Gardner, P. S., Pte., 1st P.S.B., R. Fusiliers
g 1901 †Garforth, W. G. W., Lt., 2nd Scots Guards
P 1900 Garnett, D. G. K., Lt., 3rd E. Lancs. Bde., R.F.A.
P 1913 †Garnett, J. K., Lt., R.F.A.
P 1906 ‡Garnett, R. M., Lt., 3rd E. Lancs. Bde., R.F.A.
V 1894****Garnett, W. B. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 1st R. Welsh Fusiliers, attd. The Welsh Regt.
P 1909 †Garnier, D. K., Capt., 2nd Gloucestershire Regt.
P 1907 Garnier, G. S., Lt., R.N.V.R.

L 1899 Garrett, H. L. O., Capt., I.A.R.O.
H 1906**Garrett, J. E., Capt., 5th East Surrey Regt.
V 1897 Garrett, P. C., Capt., R.A.M.C.
G 1917 Garrett, J. T., 2nd Lt., Indian Army
V 1909*‡‡Garstin, E. J. L. (M.C.), Capt., 12th Middlesex Regt.
H 1890 *Gatehouse, H. (O.B.E.), Capt., R.A.S.C. & General List
H 1892 †Gatehouse, R. F., Capt., 1st Northumberland Fusiliers
g 1916 Gay, N. A. (M.C.), Lt., R.F.A.
L 1911 †Gibbons, E. I., 2nd Lt., 20th Lancashire Fusiliers
G 1900****†Gibbons, E. S. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 1st Middlesex Regt., attd. 7th Highland Light Infantry
H 1888 †Gibbons, W. E. (M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
G 1895 Gibbons, W. K., Capt., 9th East Lancashire Regt.
P 1890 Gibbs, A. E., Major, R. Gloucestershire Hussars
g 1901‡‡Gibson, T. C. (O.B.E.), Capt., 3rd Irish Guards
L 1915 Gidlow-Jackson, R. M., Lt., Loyal North Lancashire Regt., attd. M.G.C.
W 1905 Gilbert, H. A., Capt., 3rd attd. 1st S. Wales Borderers
P 1897 Gilead Smith, H., Lt., 7th The Buffs
S 1908 Giles, R. C., Trooper, Indian Cavalry
g 1910 *Gill, W. T. (M.C. with Bar, Legion of Honour), Capt. 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabiniers)
D 1901*‡Gillam, T. H. J., Capt., 3rd Duke of Wellington's Regt.
G 1904 *Gillespie, W. E. (M.B.E.), Capt., R.A.S.C.
V 1907 Gillett, C. E. S., Lt., 6th Hampshire Regt.
B 1908 ‡Gilling, F. C., Lt., 4th R. Lancaster Regt.
H 1901 Girdlestone, R. G., Capt., R.A.M.C.
R 1907 Gjers, J., Lt., Durham R.G.A.
R 1911 †Gjers, L., Capt., 3rd Seaforth Highlanders
S 1880**Gleichen, Lord A. E. W. (K.C.V.O., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.), Major-General
D 1907 Glen, A. F. C., 2nd Lt., 1st London Regt.
S 1894 Glen, R. A., Lt., 10th Middlesex Regt.
g 1917 ‡Godby, R. G. R., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
D 1899 *Godfree, D. W. (M.C.), Capt., 21st Lancers, attd. 13th Hussars
g 1905 Godfrey, E. K. M., Lt., I.A.R.O.
S 1907 Godfrey, F. la T., Capt., R.A.O.C.
S 1903 Godson, G. E., Capt., 7th Worcestershire Regt.
H 1899 †Goldberg, F. W., 2nd Lt., 3rd The Queen's, attd. R. Dublin Fusiliers
H 1898 †Goldberg, H. W., 2nd Lt., 3rd attd. 1st The Queen's
V 1896 Goldie, W. L. M., (O.B.E.), Surgeon-Lt., H.M.S. *Spenser*
L 1913 Goldschmidt, G. T., Lt., 3rd Durham L.I.
L 1912 Goldschmidt, J. P., Capt., 13th Manchester Regt.
L 1908 Goldschmidt, P. P., Capt., 13th Manchester Regt.
G 1879 Gonne, C. M., Major, formerly R.A.; Assistant Commandant, Prisoners of War Camp
W 1807 Gooch, C. T., 2nd Lt., R.E.
W 1902 *Gooch, E. D. A., formerly 6th Lancers, Lt., B.E. African, Mounted Rifles, Censor Dept.
W 1911 †Gooch, G. F., Capt., R.G.A.
W 1912 Gooch, K. T. (M.C.), Capt., R.F.A.
S 1890*‡Gooch, R. F. K. (M.C.), Capt., Warwickshire Yeomanry
L 1911 †Goodall, E. O. C., Lt., R.F.A.
G 1882 Goodenough, H. L., Lt.-Col., 92nd Punjabis
B 1915***Goodfellow, A., Major, R.A.F., (Coast Patrol)
g 1902**Goodliffe, G. V. (M.C.), Bt. Major, 1st R. Fusiliers
g 1899 *Goodliffe, M. H. S., Capt., 1st Life Guards & Special List

B 1892****‡Goodman, H. R. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 2nd R. Irish Rifles
S 1902 Goodwin, A. D., 2nd Lt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
S 1907 †Goodwin, H. D., Lt., P.S.B., 16th Middlesex Regt.
S 1912 ‡Goodwin, J. H., 2nd Lt., Tank Corps
S 1914 Goodwin, N., Capt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
S 1914 Goolden, R. P. H., Lance-Corporal, R.A.M.C.
B 1909 †Gordon, A. C. M., Lt., 6th attd. 1st R. Scots Fusiliers
S 1911*†Gordon, A. McD. (M.C.), Capt., R.F.A.
V 1912 Gordon, A. R., P.S.B., R. Fusiliers & 2nd Lt., 1st The Rifle Brigade
g 1881**Gordon, L. G. F. (C.B., D.S.O.), Brigadier-General, R.A.
W 1906 Gordon, R. G. (M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
W 1893 Gordon, S. D., 2nd Lt., R.A.S.C.
P 1912 †Gorst, E. W., 2nd Lt., 4th R. Fusiliers
P 1913 ‡Gorst, G. T., Capt., 3rd attd. 2nd East Lancashire Regt.
V 1914 Gosnell, H. T., Lt., 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabiniers)
g 1899 Gosnell, R. P., Capt., H.A.C., attd. R.A.F. (Tech.)
R 1910 Gosse, R. W., Lt., 4th Northants. Regt., attd. R.A.F.
R 1905 Gotto, G. W., Capt., R.A.S.C.
S 1908 †Gould, H. H. M., Dresser, R.A.M.C.
G 1904 Gould, V. F., Capt., E. Yorkshire Regt., attd. Labour Corps
H 1909 Gover, Rev. C. E. J., Chaplain, attd. Devonshire Regt.
S 1904 Gow, R. W. (D.S.O., D.S.C., Belgian Order of Leopold, Croix de Guerre), Major, R.A.F.
D 1910 Grabowsky-Atherstone, N. (A.F.C.), Capt., R.A.F.
S 1889***†Graeme, L. O. (C.M.G.), Lt.-Col., 1st Cameron Highrs.
B 1917 Graham, J., Sub-Lt., H.M.S. *Barham*
g 1909 *Graham, L. C. T. (M.C.), Capt., 9th (Hodson's) Horse
B 1918 Graham, R. R., Midshipman, H.M.S. *Queen Elizabeth*
g 1902 Grahame, D., Major, 5th E. Surrey Regt., attd. M.G.C.
V 1909 †Gramshaw, R. W. R., 2nd Lt., 3rd R. Sussex Regt.
W 1893 Granlund, C. E., Pte., The Artists' Rifles O.T.C.
S 1897 Grant, E. P., Major, 25th Cavalry (F.F.)
B 1889**‡Grant-Peterkin, M. J. (O.B.E.), Lt.-Col., 3rd Cameron Highlanders, attd. Labour Corps
S 1916 Graves, G. G. G., Lt., R.A.F.
G 1914 ‡Graves, R. R., Capt., 3rd R. Welsh Fusiliers
R 1905 Gray, G. M., Capt., 5th Gordon Highlanders
P 1902***†Gray, J. F. (M.C.), Major, R.E., attd. 1st Sappers & Miners
S 1914‡*p*Gray, K. W., Capt., 1st Wiltshire Regt., attd. R.A.F.
V 1881 Green, Rev. A. G., Chaplain
G 1896**†Green, H. W. (D.S.O.), Bt. Lt.-Col., The Buffs, attd. 1st The Queen's
G 1910 *Green, L. B., Capt., 6th Wiltshire Regt.
W 1897 Green, S. A., Lt., R.A.S.C.
G 1902******Green, S. H. (D.S.O., M.C., Belgian Order of the Crown, French & Belgian Croix de Guerre), Lt.-Col., West Yorkshire Regt.; Staff
P 1908 Green, T. R., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
L 1896 Greenhill, C. W., Pte., 7th (Cyclist) Devonshire Regt.
g 1885 *Greenhill-Gardyne, A. D., Lt.-Col., 2nd attd. 5th Gordon Highlanders
g 1904**Greenly, J. H. M. (C.B.E.), Lt.-Col., Herefordshire Regt.; Ministry of Munitions
B 1910 †Greenop, G. A. C., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
G 1903****‡Greenshields, D. J. (D.S.O., M.C.), Major, R.H.A.
g 1911 *p*Greenslade, D. A., Capt., 3rd attd. 1st Gloucester Regt.
g 1914 *‡Greenslade, W. A., Lt., R.H.A.

H 1914 *p*Greensmith, R. E., Capt., R.A.F
H 1914 ‡Greenwood, D. A'S., 2nd Lt., K.O.Y.L.I., attd. R.F.C.
g 1899**Greenwood, R. C. (Order of the Nile), Major, H.L.I. ; Staff
P 1913 Gregory, D. A., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
D 1913 ‡Gregson Ellis, G. S. L. (M.C.), Capt., 1st R. Berks. Regt.
G 1906 Greig, J. P. S. (Croix de Guerre), Capt., R.E.
g 1898 *Grice-Hutchinson, C. B. (D.S.O., Croix de Guerre), Lt.-Col., R.F.A.
g 1902**‡Grice-Hutchinson, C. G. (M.C.), Capt., 10th S. Staffs.Regt.
g 1904 *Grice Hutchinson, Rev. R. E. (M.C.), Chaplain, attd. 32nd Divl. Artillery
S 1914 †Griffith, A. J. W., Lt., 2nd Dorsetshire Regt.
P 1917 ‡Griffith, G. T., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
R 1918 Griffith, H. C., 2nd Lt., R.E.
H 1910 Griffiths, G. M., Lt., 1st Monmouthshire Regt.
G 1907 Griffiths, H. L. W. (Ordre du Mérite Agricole), Capt., Special List
B 1909 Griffiths, I. H., Lt., R.A.S.C.
L 1904**‡Griffiths, J. D. (Croix de Guerre), Capt., 1st Monmouthshire Regt.
H 1913 ‡Griffiths, T. S., Lt., 12th R. Welsh Fusiliers, attd. R.A.F.
W 1917 Grimsdale, P. M. (M.C.), Lt., Somerset R.H.A.
g 1902 Groome, A. W. W. (M.B.E.), Capt., Norfolk Yeomanry
g 1909 ‡Gross, W. S., Capt., R.A.M.C.
L 1890 Grotrian, H. H., Major, 11th York & Lancaster Regt. & General List
L 1875 *Grover, Sir M. H. S. (K.C.B., K.C.I.E.), General, I.A.
G 1903 ‡Growse, H. E., Capt., 15th Ludhiana Sikhs
G 1872 Guise, H. J. W., Major, formerly The King's (Liverpool Regt.) ; Staff
R 1913 ‡Gullick, W. M. (M.C.), Lt., 1st Hampshire Regt.
H 1880 Gurdon, P. R. T. (C.S.I.), Lt.-Col., Indian Army
P 1902 Guy, P. L. O., Capt., M.G.C.
B 1890*‡Gwyther, G. H. (D.S.O.), Major, 2nd R. Welsh Fusiliers
g 1900 †Gye, D. A., Capt., R.H.A.
g 1901 ‡Gye, J. A., Capt., R.A.F.

S 1904*‡Habershon, C. B. (Serbian Order of the White Eagle), Bt. Major, 2nd South Wales Borderers
G 1899 †Hadden, C. M., Capt., 3rd R. Scots Fusiliers
S 1913 †Haddock, E. P., Corporal, R.E.
B 1914 †Hadley, P. S. (M.C.), Capt., 7th Northamptonshire Regt.
B 1903 Hadow, H., Squadron Sergt.-Major, Indian Def. Force
W 1892 Hadow, F. A., Capt., Indian Defence Force
P 1913‡‡‡Hadwen, C. W., Lt., 4th Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders
G 1908 †Haeffner, F. W., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
D 1915 Hahn, G. W., Lt., 5th Essex Regt.
H 1896**†Haig Brown, A. R. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 23rd Middlesex R.
H 1894 Haig Brown, H. E., Major, 5th The Queen's
g 1887***Haldane, H. C. (O.B.E.), Capt., Lothians & Border Horse
S 1892 Hale, Rev. J. R., Chaplain
S 1883 Hall, A. N. (O.B.E.), Lt.-Col., Oxfordshire Yeo. (T.F.Res.)
g 1883 Hall, Sir D. B. (Bart., M.P.), Capt., R.E. (I.W.T. & Docks)
P 1914 †Hall, D. D. G. (M.C.), Capt., 3rd Yorks. Regt. & R.F.C.
R 1912 †Hall, E. W. (M.B.E.), Capt., 4th Lincolnshire Regt.
R 1916*‡‡Hall, R. L., Lt., R.F.A.
G 1911 Hallam, S., Lt., 1st The R. Scots
P 1898 Hallett, P. (T.D.), Major, 6th East Surrey Regt.
g 1884 Halliday, H. M., Lt.-Col., Indian Army

D 1916 Halliley, H. C., Lt., 2nd The Queen's
R 1907 Halstead, D. V., Capt., R.A.M.C.
H 1894 Halsted, A. G., 2nd Lt., Tank Corps
H 1888 Halsted, E. F., Lt., R.N.V.R.
H 1891 *Halsted, W. W., Capt., R.A.M.C.
g 1899*†Halswelle, W., Capt., 1st Highland L.I.
P 1892*‡Halton, E. C., B. Lt.-Col., 2nd Loyal N. Lancs. Regt.
G 1890 †Hamilton, A. J. Rowan, Lt., 2nd Irish Guards
B 1893 Hamilton, C. G. C., (M.P.), Major, Queen's Westminsters & R.A.F.
g 1888 Hamilton, H. V., Lt., R.A.F. (Admin.)
g 1904*†Hamilton-Johnston, D.C., Major, 2nd The Black Watch
B 1910 ‡Hamlen-Williams, D.W., Capt., 1st Herefordshire Regt., attd. 4th Monmouthshire Regt.
G 1909**‡Hammick, H. A. (M.C.), Major, 6th Manchester Regt.
V 1907 †Hamnett, F. G., 2nd Lt., R. Fusiliers & Special List
V 1904 Hampson, R. G., Capt., R.E.
B 1906*‡Hampton, F. A. (M.C.), Capt., R.A.F. (Medical)
H 1916 Hanbury, H. G., Lt., Warwickshire Yeomanry
L 1895 Hancock, H. R. B., 2nd Lt., Hong Kong Vol. Reserve
R 1915 Hancock, R. D., 2nd Lt., R.A.S.C.
L 1889 Hanks, J. J., Capt., formerly R.G.A. ; Special Appt.
H 1912*‡Hanmer, G. T., Capt., 19th Hussars
V 1897 *Hannay, F. M., Capt., R.A.F. (Admin.)
V 1912 Hansell, H. M., Capt., 5th Durham L.I.
S 1915 †Hansell, K. J. N., Lt., Leinster Regt., attd. M.G.C.
V 1878 Hansell, W. E., Capt., formerly 3rd Norfolk Militia ; Commandant, Prisoners of War Camp
S 1916 Hardcastle, C. H. A. R., Driver, H.A.C.
D 1887 *Hardcastle, H. M., Lt.-Col., D. of Lancaster's Own Yeo.
L 1912 ‡Hardie, F. R., Capt., 3rd (K.O.) Hussars & R.A.F. (Tech.)
L 1907 Hardie, J. C., Lt., R.F.A.
G 1907 †Harding, C. S., Lt., 11th East Surrey Regt., attd. 2nd Hampshire Regt.
S 1911 Harding, H. C., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
G 1888 Hardman, G. W., Major, 10th Manchester Regt.
B 1899 Hardman, R. C., Capt., 5th East Surrey Regt.
B 1906 *Harfield, D. H. B. (Greek Medal for Military Merit), Major, 5th Hampshire Regt. ; Staff
P 1915‡‡Harke, J. W. A., Lt., 5th North Staffordshire Regt.
V 1895 Harker, H. E., Capt., Cornwall, R.G.A.
V 1889 †Harker, R. P., 2nd Lt., 1st North Staffordshire Regt.
H 1898 †Harley, J., Lt., 13th Worcester. Regt., attd. 1st K.O.S.B.
W 1910*†Harman, J. B., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
P 1898 Harmsworth, V. G., Capt., R.A.S.C.
D 1906 Harper, C. S., Capt., I.A.R.O., attd. Wellesley's Rifles
R 1904 †Harper, W. L., Lt., 3rd attd. 6th Northamptonshire Regt.
P 1888 *Harpur, E. H., Lt.-Col., R.F.A.
L 1892 †Harris, W. H., Motor Yacht Patrol Service
g 1912 †Harrison, D. H., Lt., Wessex R.F.A.
V 1911 ‡Harrison, F. H. K., Lt., 8th The Cameronians
V 1913 Harrison, G. J. C., Capt., 3rd Lowland Bde., R.F.A.
B 1889 Harrison, G. W. (M.C.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
V 1907 Harrison, I. R., Major, 3rd Lowland Bde., R.F.A.
R 1906 Harrison, J. V. G., Lt., R.E. (Inland Water Transport)
B 1888 Harrison, S. G., Capt., R.A.M.C.
g 1913 ‡Harry, F. L., Lt., I.A.R.O., attd. 20th Punjabis
g 1909 †Hart, C. H., Lt., 5th Bedfordshire Regt.

g 1903*†Hart, C. J., Capt., 5th Worcestershire Regt. & R.F.C.
g 1907 †Hart, P. F., Lt., 3rd Bedfordshire Regt.
g 1899 *Hart, S. G. (M.C.), Capt., R.F.A.
g 1910 Hart, V. D., Lt., 4th York & Lancaster Regt.
H 1893 ‡Hart, W. E., Lt., 3rd Bedfordshire Regt.
W 1899***Hartley, A. F. (D.S.O.), Major, 11th (K.E.O.) Lancers, attd. York & Lancaster Regt.
V 1914 ‡Hartmann, L. G. (M.C. with Bar), Lt., R.F.A.
B 1904 †Hartmann, C. H., Lt., 5th R. West Kent Regt.
V 1884 *Harvey, J. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 10th The Black Watch
H 1909 Harvey Samuel, F. K., 2nd Lt., Hertfordshire Regt.
H 1905*pHarvey Samuel, G. D., Lt., 10th Middlesex Regt.
W 1914 †Harvie, E. F. (M.C.), Capt., 9th Gordon Highlanders
W 1912‡‡Harvie, J. K., Lt., 3rd (K.O.) Hussars
W 1915 ‡Harvie, R. B., Lt., 15th (The King's) Hussars
W 1916 †Harvie, S. M., 2nd Lt., 2nd 60th Rifles
S 1918 Harwood, J. E. G., 2nd Air Mechanic, R.A.F.
L 1908 *a*Haskins, F. W., Lance-Corporal, 3rd Cheshire Regt.
P 1889 †Hastings, P., Major, 1st R. West Kent Regt.
L 1878 Hatchard, F. S. U., Capt., formerly Yorkshire Dragoons ; Recruiting Officer
H 1904 Hatchard Smith, W. H., Capt., 5th East Surrey Regt.
V 1912 ‡Hatton, A. H., Lt., 4th South Lancashire Regt.
H 1917 Havelock Allan, H. R. M., 2nd Lt., 2nd Scots Guards
G 1900***Haviland, L. P., Major, 13th Lancers (Watson's Horse)
G 1899 **Haviland, W. P. (M.B.E.), Capt., 8th A. & S. Highrs.
g 1913 †Hawdon, C., 4th Yorkshire Regt.
H 1903 Hawdon, C. S., Lt., R.H.A.
g 1908 ‡Hawdon, H. W., Lt., 18th Durham L.I.
g 1903 †Hawdon, Rev. N. E., Chaplain
g 1912**†Hawdon, R. A., Capt., R.G.A.
W 1899*****Hawes, G. E. (D.S.O., M.C., Legion of Honour), Lt.-Col., R. Fusiliers ; Staff
W 1900 †Hawes, R. F., Capt., 1st Leicestershire Regt.
L 1914 ‡Hawke, E. A., Lt., R.H.A.
D 1908 Hawkins, C. H. G., W. Lt., R.A.S.C.
L 1878 Hawkins, H. T., Major, R.G.A.
P 1887 †Hawkins, J. B., Capt., Essex Regt. ; Adjt., Base Depôt
P 1907 *Hawkins, J. C. B. (M.C.), Major, R.G.A.
P 1900*‡Haworth, R. (D.S.O., M.V.O.), Major, 1st Lancs. Fus.
L 1890***†Hay, A. (Serbian Order of Karageorge), Lt.-Col., 8th R. Welsh Fusiliers
g 1910‡‡Hay, B. McE. A., Capt., 19th Hussars
V 1907 ‡Hay Robertson, J. W. (M.C. with Bar), Capt., 4th The Black Watch
D 1915 Haydock, G. A., Lt., R.A.F.
g 1883 *Haydon, T. H., Bt. Col., R.A.M.C.
L 1904**‡Hayes, G. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 11th Durham L.I.
P 1913 †Hayes, H. U., 2nd Lt., 1st The Black Watch
W 1893 Hayes-Sadler, J., Major, R.F.A.
S 1898*‡Hayley, W. B. (D.S.O.), Major, R.F.A.
W 1909 Haynes, J. F., Surgeon-Lt., H.M.S. *Dublin*
D 1911 †Hazell, D. H., Lt., 2nd R. Lancaster Regt., attd. R.A.F.
V 1891 Hazell, E., Lt., R. Fusiliers ; Special Appointment
G 1892 *Head, A. E. M. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R.F.A.
D 1890 *Head, G. (O.B.E.), Capt., Ministry of Munitions
D 1880**Head, H. (F.R.S., M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.

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a Died at Chester, July, 1916.

P 1916 Heald, L. F. (Italian Bronze Medal for Military Valour), Lt., R. Monmouthshire R.E.
P 1912 Heald, W. H. A., Lt., 6th R. Fusiliers & R.F.C.; W.O.
G 1914 †Healey, P., 2nd Lt., 3rd Manchester Regt.
H 1884 Heap, H. (V.D.), Major & Hon. Lt.-Col., 6th Lancashire Fusiliers, T.F. Reserve
H 1884 Heap, J. A. B., Lt., 6th The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
g 1907 ‡Hearson, W. H., Lt., 4th The Buffs
P 1895 Heaton, D., 2nd Lt., R.E.
L 1906 †Heaton, N. C., 2nd Lt., London Regt.
L 1905 Heaton, T. B. (O.B.E.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
B 1915 ‡Heber Percy, H. A., Lt., 19th Hussars
S 1908** Hedges, K. M. F. (D.S.O.), Major, R.A.S.C.
V 1903** Hedley, T. F. (M.B.E.), Capt., Northumberland Fusiliers & General List
P 1906 *Helliwell, H. D., Capt., 4th Duke of Wellington's Regt.; Lt., R.A.S.C.
W 1880 Helme, R. M. (V.D.), Major & Hon. Lt.-Col. 4th R. Sussex Regt.
g 1909 Henderson, C. R. P., Lt., R.A.S.C.
L 1896‡*p* Henderson, I. MacD. (T.D.), Bt. Major, London Scottish
V 1913‡‡‡‡ Henderson, K. R., Capt., 2nd Yorkshire Regt.
L 1895 Hendley, P. A., Capt., R.A.M.C.
D 1912 *Henry, C. J., Capt., Leicestershire Yeomanry
S 1898 Herapath, L., Bt. Lt.-Col., 2nd Duke of Wellington's Regt.
D 1913 †Herford, F. M., Rifleman, Victoria Rifles
W 1907‡‡ Herring, J. L. (M.C.), Lt., R.N. Division
g 1886 Heron-Maxwell, Sir I. W. (Bart., M.C.), Capt.; Special Appointment in North Russia
g 1908 Herzog, F. J. (M.C.), Capt., R.F.A.
D 1909 ‡Hetley, G. H. (M.C.), Capt., 2/4th London Regt.
R 1912 Heudebert, L., Pte., Herefordshire Regt.
g 1890 *Heward, G. C., Lt., Canadian General List
S 1901 Hewett, R. R. S., Lt., R.A.S.C.
S 1899***‡‡ Hewitt, C. C. (D.S.O., M.C.), Col., R. Inniskilling Fusiliers & M.G.C.
B 1891 Hewitt, C. de L., Sub-Lt., R.N.V.R.
G 1896 †Hewitt, Rev. F. W., Chaplain
H 1895***† Hewitt, R. W. (D.S.O., Russian Order of St. Stanislas), Lt.-Col., 14th (King's) Hussars
D 1897*‡ Hewlett, A., Lt.-Col., 5th Manchester Regt.
D 1898 Hewlett, V. C., Seaman, R.N.V.R.
H 1902 ‡Heydeman, W. E., Major, R.A.
S 1902 Heyder, P. A., Lt.-Commander, H.M.S. *Medway*
g 1905‡‡‡ Heywood, C. G., Capt., 2nd Coldstream Guards
L 1901 *Heywood, N. (O.B.E.), Capt., R.A.S.C.
P 1900 †Heywood, R. M., Lt., 2nd The Buffs
L 1897 *Heywood, W. D., Major, 6th Lancashire Fusiliers
V 1914 Hicks, G. A., Lt., Cornwall, R.G.A.
B 1896****‡ Higgins, C. G. (C.M.G., D.S.O. with Bar), Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.; Brigadier-General
L 1892*****‡ Higgins, J. F. A. (C.B., D.S.O., A.F.C., Legion of Honour), Major-General, R.A. & R.A.F.
V 1904 *a* Highmore, C. B., 2nd Lt., M.G.C.
L 1900 Hill, R. D. O., Major, 2nd Gurkhas
W 1917 †Hill, R. F. (M.C.), Lt., R.A.F.
H 1905 ‡Hill, T. W. (M.C.), Lt., R.F.A.

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a Died at Dorchester, February 26, 1919.

G 1898 Hillyard, G. W., 2nd Lt., Cheshire Yeomanry
V 1901 *Hind, J. H., Capt., 13th Hussars.
L 1893 Hindle, F. (Legion of Honour), Hon. Lt., Red Cross
W 1914 *Hinds, G. V. (M.C.), Lt., 10th R. West Kent Regt., attd. R.E. (Signals)
H 1887**Hine, T. G. M. (O.B.E., M.D.), Hon. Major, R.A.M.C.
H 1911 †Hirst, H. H., Lt., 21st Manch. Regt., attd. R.E. (Signals)
B 1909 Hitch, D. S., Major, R.M. ; 63rd R.N. Division
B 1916 Hoare, E. O'B., Lt., 1st Res. Garr. Batt. Suffolk Regt.
G 1900 Hobart, R. C. (I.C.S.), 2nd Lt., Garrison Artillery, I.D.F.
G 1908******‡Hobart, J. W. L. S. (D.S.O., M.C., French & Belgian Croix de Guerre), Bt. Major, 1st North Staffordshire Regt. ; Staff
G 1878 Hobbs, J. S., Lt.-Col., 8th Gloucestershire Regt.
g 1899**Hodson, V. C. P., Major, 9th (Hodson's) Horse
V 1911 †Hogg, L. S., Capt. & Adjt., 9th R. Welsh Fusiliers
W 1918 Hogg, R. C., Midshipman, R.N.V.R.
H 1884 Holden, E. F. (M.B.E.), Major, formerly 5th Dragoon Guards ; Nottingham Volunteer Corps
g 1912 *Holdron, W. G. E., Lt., M.G.C. (Cavalry)
G 1887**Holdsworth Hunt, W. H. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R.G.A.
H 1902 *Hollebone, E. G., Capt., West Kent Yeomanry
H 1897 Hollebone, H. C., Lt., R.F.A.
g 1897 Hollebone, T. S., Lt., R.A.O.C.
L 1913 Hollins, A H., Lt., 2nd Duke of Cornwall's L.I.
L 1915‡*p*Hollins, E. T., Lt., 6th Manchester Regt.
L 1915‡‡Hollins, S. E., Lt., 6th Manchester Regt.
W 1916 ‡Hollowell, P. W. C. (M.C. with Bar), Lt., R.E.
B 1905 †Holme, A. C., Lt., Gloucester Regt., attd. 3rd Nigeria Regt.
B 1904**‡Holmes, H. O. (M.C. with Bar, Belgian Croix de Guerre), Major, R.F.A.
B 1907 Holmes, V., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
H 1910 ‡Holt, H. T. E., Lt., R.F.A.
V 1904 Home Rigg, P. J., Capt., Fife & Forfar Yeomanry & R.A.F. (Admin.)
R 1914 ‡Homfray, C. K., Major, 3rd Duke of Wellington's Regt., attd. Tank Corps
D 1911*‡Hook, O., Capt., R.A.F.
V 1907 *Hooker, W. S., Capt., 4th The Queen's
P 1900 Hoole, F. W., 2nd Lt., 6th London Regt.
g 1906 Hooman, C. V. L., Paymaster Lt., R.N.R.
H 1897 †Hooper, A. H., Capt., 3rd Middlesex Regt.
H 1895**Hooper, J. C. (D.S.O.), Major, 4th K. Shropshire L.I.
W 1900 Hopkins, W. A., Lt., R.N.V.R.
S 1899 Hopkinson, A. H., Capt., 6th Duke of Cornwall's L.I.
S 1913‡‡‡Hopkinson, J. A. L., Capt., 3rd attd. 11th The Queen's
G 1904 †Horbury, G. S., 2nd Lt., 4th The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
W 1892 †Horley, E. L. R., 2nd Lt., Manchester Regt.
W 1891 Horley, R. R., Surgeon-Comdr., H.M.S. *Southampton*
H 1902****‡Horn, R. V. G. (D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., Legion of Honour), Bt. Major, 2nd R. Scots Fusiliers
S 1911 †Hornby, C. E., Lance-Corporal, 3rd Worcestershire Regt.
L 1891 †Horne, A., Capt., 1st Cameron Highlanders
W 1894*†Horsfall, A. G. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 1st Duke of Wellington's Regt.
D 1907 *Hoskin, T. J. H., Capt., R.A.M.C.
g 1901**‡‡Houblon, E. Archer (D.S.O.), Major, R.H.A.
W 1912 †Houghton, P. S., Capt., Victoria Rifles
G 1909 Howard, A. N. (M.C.), Capt., 2nd Coldstream Guards

H 1910 *Howard, C. N. G., Major, 12th London Regt.
G 1909 Howard, E. D., Lt., R.A.F.
W 1902 *Howard, E. H., Capt., 12th R. Welsh Fusiliers
H 1904 ‡Howard, G. B. C., Capt., R.E.
H 1878 Howard, G. P. (V.D.), Capt., 9th London Regt., T.F. Res.
W 1906 Howard, J. P., 2nd Lt., 11th Hampshire Regt.
H 1908*‡‡Howard, N. M. C. (M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
P 1908 Howatson, C. N., Capt., 19th Lancers (Fane's Horse)
V 1895*****Howell, E. B. (C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.), Lt.-Col.; Political Officer, Mesopotamia
G 1904 Howell, T., Capt., R.A.M.C.
L 1914 Howell, W. J., Lt., 3rd The Queen's
R 1901**Hoyland, H. A. D. (M.B.E., Hellenic Order of The Redeemer), Major, Special List; Interpreter
g 1899 Hubbard, L. E., Lt., R.A.S.C.
P 1902 †Huddart, R. E. T., 2nd Lt., 5th attd. 2nd The Rifle Bde.
D 1901 *p*Huddleston, G. R. G., Capt., 22nd Punjabis
P 1910 Hudson, R. P. M., Capt., 3rd Duke of Wellington's Regt.
L 1883****Hudson, T. R. C. (C.B., Legion of Honour, Military Order of Savoy, Croce di Guerra), Brig.-General, R.A.
V 1891 *Hue-Williams, R.G. (O.B.E.), Lt.-Col.,5th E. Surrey Regt.
W 1891 *Hughes, C. G. E. (O.B.E.), Major, 1st Cheshire Regt.; Superintendent of Gymnasia
G 1909‡‡Hughes, E. A. W., Capt., R. Fusiliers
W 1900 Hughes, G. E., Lt., 5th E. Surrey Regt., attd. R.E.
G 1910 †Hughes, G. W., 2nd Lt., 4th Middlesex Regt.
W 1904 Hughes, M. B., Paymaster Sub-Lt., R.N.V.R.
S 1881*†Hughes-Onslow, D., Major, 6th Dorsetshire Regt.
S 1891 Hulbert, H. L. P. (M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
V 1883********Hull, Sir C. P. A. (K.C.B., Russian Order of St Vladimir, Croix de Guerre), Major-General, 56th Div.
g 1881****Hulton, F. C. L. (C.B.), Bt. Col., formerly 1st (King's) Dragoon Guards; Staff
g 1900**‡Hulton, J. M. (D.S.O., Orders of the Crown of Italy & of the Nile), Lt.-Col., 4th R. Sussex Regt.
L 1906 †Humbert, E. G. J., Lt., 9th R. Berkshire Regt., attd. 2nd Hampshire Regt.
L 1904 *Humbert, O. J., Lt., R.A.S.C.
P 1893 ‡Humphrey, H. M., Major, 3rd Hampshire Regt.
S 1895****‡Humphreys, E. T. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Order of the Nile), Lancashire Fusiliers; Brigadier-General
V 1897 †Humphreys, F. C. (M.C.), Capt., Somerset L.I.
S 1881*****Humphreys, G. (C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour, Croix de Guerre), Brigadier-General, R.A.
S 1914 Humphries, G. N. P., Lt., Somerset L.I., attd. R.E.
S 1910 Humphries, R. P., 2nd Lt., 3rd Somerset L.I.
B 1916 Humphris, J. H. (M.C.), Lt., R.F.A
G 1891 Hunt, E. R. (M.D.), Lt.-Col., R.A.M.C.; Consulting Physician to North Russian Expeditionary Force
G 1896 ‡Hunt, F. J. H., Capt., R.F.A.
D 1903 Hunt, J. W. B., Capt., Lincolnshire Yeo., attd., M.G.C.
V 1882 Hunt, W. R., Quarter-Master, 2nd King Edward's Horse
S 1898**Hunter, C. S. (D.S.O., O.B.E.), Major, R.G.A.
W 1903 †Hunter, G. E., Capt., 6th Northumberland Fusiliers
W 1904 †Hunter, H. T., Capt., 6th Northumberland Fusiliers
L 1916 Hunter, J. G., Lt., R.A.F.
W 1901**Hurndall, F. B. (M.C.), Major, 20th Hussars
H 1916 †Hussey, C. F., Lt., 2nd Gloucestershire Regt.
H 1899 Hutchinson, S., Lt., R.A.M.C.

S 1909 †Hutton, G. A., Lt., R.E.
g 1892 Hutton-Squire, J. R., Capt., 4th Yorkshire Regt.
g 1895*†Hutton-Squire, R. H. E. (D.S.O.), Major, R.G.A.
R 1916 *Hyams, G. F. (D.F.C.), Lt., R.A.F.

G 1880 *Iles, H. W. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R.G.A.
V 1896 *Imbert-Terry, C. H. M. (D.S.O.), Major, 2nd Devon Regt.
V 1900 ‡Imbert-Terry, D. P., Lt., 7th The Buffs
S 1900**Imbert-Terry, H. B. (D.S.O., M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
S 1903*****im Thurn, B. B. von B. (D.S.O., M.C.), Bt. Major, 1st Hampshire Regt.
H 1891**Ingilby, J. U. M. (O.B.E.), Lt.-Col., 3rd Gordon Highlanders ; Record Office, Perth
V 1908*‡‡Ingleby, C. J. (D.S.O.), Major, 4th East Yorkshire Regt.
V 1908*†Ingleby, N. W., Capt., 4th East Yorkshire Regt.
L 1890******‡Ingpen, P. L. (D.S.O. with Bar, Belgian Order of the Crown & Croix de Guerre), Lt.-Col., 2nd W. Yorks. Regt.
R 1899*‡Ingram, A. K., Lt., R.G.A.
H 1902‡‡Ingram, C. D., Major, 5th East Surrey Regt. & M.G.C.
G 1907 ‡Irvine, J. K., Lt., R.G.A.
S 1897 Irvine, L. H. (M.B.E.), Capt., T.F.Res. ; Recruiting Officer
g 1889 Isaac, E. S. W., Lt., R.A.S.C.
S 1909 Isitt, S. C. R., Lt., 3rd Irish Guards
V 1904**Ismay, H. L., Bt. Major, 21st Cavalry, attd. Somaliland Camel Corps.

P 1911**Jackson, A. H. K. (D.S.O., M.C.), Capt., 1st R. Warwickshire Regt.
W 1899**‡‡Jackson, B. (D.S.O., Portuguese Military Order of Aviz, T.D.), Major, 4th Yorkshire Regt.
S 1899 *Jackson, C. B. A. (M.C.), Capt., Suffolk Hussars
G 1898 Jackson, C. W., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
L 1909 †Jackson, H. H. (M.C.), Capt., 15th (The King's) Hussars
V 1911 ‡Jackson, H. J. R. (M.C.), Capt., Canadian Engineers
G 1879 *Jackson, L. D., Brigadier-General, R.A.
G 1895 Jackson, L. G., Lt., R.N.V.R.
B 1892 Jacomb, C. A., 2nd Lt., R. Defence Corps
P 1901 Jacomb, C. R. (M.C.), Capt., 1st Queen's Westminster Rifles
d 1899 Jacomb, E., Lt., R.N.V.R.
P 1904 Jacomb, F. B. W., Capt., 108th Infantry, I.A.
P 1900 *Jacomb, H. W., Capt., R.F.A., attd. R.G.A.
g 1906 †James, B. G., 2nd Lt., R.F.A., attd. R.F.C.
g 1910 James, G. S., Major, R.F.A.
V 1879 †James, E. E., form. N. Somerset Yeo., Lt. ; Cable Censor
g 1899 †James, W., Capt., 10th Durham L.I.
W 1907 Jameson, G. D., Capt., R.A.M.C.
W 1907 *Jameson, H. M., Capt., R.E.
V 1902 †Jamieson, J. M., 2nd Lt., Sherwood Foresters
V 1901 Jamieson, S. W. (C.B.E.), Staff Q.-M.-Sergt., R.A.S.C.
S 1910****‡‡‡Jardine, C. A. (D.S.O. with Bar, M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
L 1886****Jardine, J. B. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour), 5th (R. Irish) Lancers ; Brigadier-General
S 1909 *Jardine, Sir J. E. B. (Bart.), Capt., 5th The Queen's
S 1917 Jardine, K. W. S., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
S 1913*‡Jardine, L. W., Capt., 5th The Queen's
W 1907 ‡Jasper, R. F. T., Lt., Essex Regt.
H 1894*****Jebb, G. D. (C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O.), Bedfordshire Regt. ; Brigadier-General

H 1893 *Jebb, J. H. M. (D.S.O.), Bt. Col., 4th Manchester Regt.
G 1889 Jeffcock, C. A. C., Lt., R.G.A.
G 1899 Jeffreys, J. G., Capt., 6th The Welsh Regt.
S 1910 Jeffreys, R. C., Capt., I.A.R.O., attd. 30th Punjabis
S 1917 Jenkins, D. Ll., 2nd Lt, 6th The Rifle Brigade
L 1913****‡‡Jenkins, R. C. (M.C., Order of the Nile), Capt., Duke of Cornwall's L.I. & R.A.F.
G 1914 †Jenks, A. L., Lt., 3rd Dorsetshire Regt.
G 1910**‡‡Jenks, E. H., Capt., 10th The Cameronians
S 1878****Jenner, Sir W. K. W. (Bart., D.S.O.), Bt. Lt.-Col., formerly 9th Lancers ; Staff
P 1880**Jenney, A. O. (C.B.E.), Col., 6th The Royal Scots, attd. Labour Corps
B 1895 †Jennings, G. M., formerly Capt., R. Inniskilling Fusiliers ; Pte., Australian Infantry
D 1899 Jesson, T. E., Capt., 5th Leicestershire Regt.
B 1912 †Jessopp, A. J., Lt., R.F.C.
B 1909 Jewell, F. N., Capt., 9th Hampshire Regt.
H 1912 Johns, A. B., Lt., 7th Dragoon Guards, attd. R.E. (Signals)
G 1875 †Johns, S. E., Capt., S. African Pay Department
H 1913 ‡Johnson, A. J. M., Lt., R.E.
D 1899*‡Johnson, A. M., Major, 1st R. Dublin Fusiliers
P 1894 Johnson, B., Lt.-Commander, R.N.V.R.
D 1910 *Johnson, B. E., Capt., 6th Sherwood Foresters
D 1909***†Johnson, C. B., Lt.-Col., 6th Sherwood Foresters
L 1910 Johnson, C. B., 2nd Lt., R.E.
L 1908 Johnson, D. B. (M.C.), Lt., 11th Suffolk Regt.
P 1901*‡Johnson, E. D. B. (M.C., T.D.), Major, 5th York & Lancaster Regt.
D 1897 †Johnson, G. M., Surgeon, H.M.S. *Defence*
R 1911 Johnson, G. M. W., Lt., 4th Cameron Highrs., attd. I.A.
L 1894 Johnson, J. C., Capt., R.A.M.C.
G 1898 Johnston, E., Lt., R.G.A.
G 1904*†Johnston, F., Major, 7th King's Shropshire L.I.
g 1897 †Johnston, J. C., Capt. & Adjt., 6th R. Irish Fusiliers
V 1902 Johnstone, C. H. C., Capt., R.F.A.
B 1914*‡Jonas, H. C., Capt., 12th Highland L.I.
g 1888 Jones, A. I. N. (M.C.), Lt., 9th Norfolk Regt.
g 1892 †Jones, A. M., Lt., 3rd Scots Guards
g 1914 Jones, A. P. (M.C.), Lt., R.F.A.
L 1911*‡Jones, C. E. Turner (M.C.), Capt., E. Lancs. R.E.
g 1900‡‡‡Jones, C. R., Capt., 3rd Scots Guards
L 1909‡‡Jones, H. L. (M.C.), Lt., 20th Hussars
g 1914 *Jones, V. H., Lt., 14th (King's) Hussars
V 1909*‡Jörgensen, J. R. C. (M.C.), Capt., R.F.A.
W 1911***†Joseph, S. H., Major, R.E.
V 1906‡‡Joyce, F. H. de V. (M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
L 1897 †Julian, E. L., Lt., 7th R. Dublin Fusiliers
W 1908 ‡Julius, A. D., Capt., 11th Essex Regt. & General List
W 1911 †Julius, C. H., Lt., 3rd East Lancashire Regt.
R 1912 Jupe, M. H., Surgeon-Lt., H.MM.S. *Erin*

V 1908 Kane, C. R. H., Lt., Tank Corps
B 1914 †Kann, E. H., Lt., R.F.C.
B 1912‡*a*Kann, R. V., Capt., R.A.F.
D 1907 †Kay, G. C., Capt., 5th Lancashire Fusiliers, attd. M.G.C.

a Killed while flying near Stonehenge, August 21, 1919.

P 1905 *Kay, J. K. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 1st attd. 6th R. W. Kent Regt.
P 1907***Kaye, G. L. (M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
G 1908 Keay, E. D., Capt., 5th R. Warwickshire Regt.
G 1914 †Keay, J. G., Lt., 5th R. Warwick Regt., attd. T.M.B.
S 1910 *Keeling, J. H., Lt., 3rd Coldstream Guards
L 1904**‡Keeling, O. H., Capt., East Anglian R.E.
S 1900 †Keenlyside, C. A. H., Capt., 1st Cambridgeshire Regt.
S 1895 †Keenlyside, G. F. H., Capt., 1st R. West Kent Regt.
L 1901 *Keep, A. R. (M.C.), Lt., 3rd The Queen's
W 1895 *p*Keir Moilliet, Rev. B. R., Chaplain
V 1900 ‡Kellock, C. R., Lt., R. Irish Rifles
G 1888****Kelly, C. R. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour), Lt.-Col., R.G.A.
S 1901 ‡Kelly, F. G. H., 2nd Lt., 4th The Buffs
G 1888 †Kelly, H. N., Major, 33rd Punjabis
G 1906 Kelton, G. St. G., Lt., R.A.F.
B 1886**‡Kemball, A. G., 31st Punjabis ; Brigadier-General
S 1917 Kemball, C. G., 2nd Lt., 1st Welsh Guards
B 1885 Kemball, J. S., Lt.-Col., 29th Punjabis
Master **†Kemble, H. H. (D.S.O., M.C.), Lt.-Col., 23rd London Regt.
H 1904 Kemp-Welch, H. A., Lt., 7th Hampshire Regt. & M.G.C.
W 1904****Kemp-Welch, M. (D.S.O. with Bar, M.C., French & Belgian Croix de Guerre), The Queen's ; Brig.-General
L 1913 ‡Kendrick, T. D., Capt., 14th R. Warwickshire Regt., attd. Lancashire Fusiliers
S 1901 †Kenion, H. C., 2nd Lt., 2nd Lancashire Fusiliers
g 1888***Kennedy Shaw, F. S. (C.B.E.), Col., formerly Hampshire Regt. ; Deputy Director of Remounts
W 1888*******Kenrick, G. E. R. (C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour), Bt. Lt.-Col., The Queen's
W 1886 †Kenrick, H. W. M., Capt., 11th Hussars
V 1905 ‡Kensington, H. Le G., Lt., 5th The Rifle Brigade
W 1915 Kent, P. C. (Serbian Gold Medal), Lt., R.A.S.C.
D 1899 Kenward, B. T., 2nd Lt., R.A.S.C.
H 1903 †Kenyon, G., Lance-Corporal, 8th R. Fusiliers
H 1899‡‡Kenyon, H. G., Major, R.F.A.
S 1880 Keppel, Hon. G. (M.V.O.), Lt.-Col., R. Fusiliers & East Lancashire Regt.
S 1884**†Kerr, F. W. (D.S.O.), Col., Gordon Highlanders ; Staff
g 1913 ‡Kerr, G. K. G., Capt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
H 1894 Kerr, G. W., Lt., R.G.A.
G 1901 ‡Kevill-Davies, G. R., Major, 3rd Dragoon Guards, attd. R.A.F.
S 1907****Kewley, E. R. (D.S.O. with Bar, M.C., Croix de Guerre), Lt.-Col., 3rd The Rifle Brigade
S 1905 *Kewley, T. C. Capt., West Riding R.F.A.
S 1914 ‡Kiek, H. L., 2nd Lt., The Rifle Brigade
H 1890 Killey, J. B., Lt., 6th The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
W 1912 †Kimber, H. C. D., Lt., R.F.A.
S 1897 *King, C. (O.B.E.), Major, R.A.M.C.
V 1916*†King, C. F. (M.C., D.F.C., Croix de Guerre avec palme), Capt., R.A.F.
G 1907***King, F. (D.S.O., O.B.E.), Lt.-Col., 4th Hussars & M.G.C.
G 1913 King, G. R. (M.C.), Major, 4th King's African Rifles
W 1898 King, H. H., Major, R.G.A.
G 1911 King, K., Lt., R.A.S.C.
P 1901 King, L. R., Capt., R.A.M.C.

W 1901****King, M. H. (D.S.O., M.C. with two Bars), Major 4th Duke of Wellington's Regt.
g 1915‡‡King King, K. E., Lt., Somerset L.I.
V 1909 †Kingdon, R. C. H., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
S 1898 Kinloch, Sir G. (Bart., O.B.E.), Lt., T.F. Reserve; Ministry of National Service
S 1900 Kinloch, J., Lt., 4th The Black Watch
L 1906 ‡Kinloch Wylie, M. R., Capt., 10th Seaforth Highlanders
D 1915 Kirby, K. W., Sub-Lt., H.M.S. *Lion*
D 1912 *Kirby, S. W. (M.C. with Bar), Capt., R.E.
S 1890 *Kirby, W. R., Lt., 4th Hampshire Regt.
L 1901 *p*Kirkaldy, T. J. W., Leading Seaman, R. Naval Brigade
W 1910 ‡Kirkpatrick, D., Capt., 2nd R. Irish Rifles
L 1894*†Kirkpatrick, E. H., Bt. Major, 2nd Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
g 1915 ‡Kitson, G. H., Lt., R.F.A.
g 1917 Kitson, G. L., 2nd Lt., 1st W. Riding Bde., R.F.A.
g 1889 *Kitson, S. D., Capt., Yorkshire Hussars
S 1887 Knatchbull-Hugessen, E., Capt., 3rd Northants. Regt.
W 1899 Knight, A. F., Capt., H.A.C.
L 1889 Knight, J. A., Major, Remount Service
V 1900 Knight, J. G. D., Q.-M. & Hon. Capt., Quebec Regt.
P 1917 Knight, R. D., 2nd Lt., 5th The Rifle Brigade
S 1905 ‡Knollys, E. (M.C. with Bar), Capt., Scots Guards
g 1912 †Knowles, A. Y., Lt., R.F.A.
G 1906 Knowles, C. K., 2nd Lt., Tank Corps
g 1910 Knowles, F. G. Y., Lt., R.A.S.C.
g 1911 Knowles, J. Y., 2nd Lt., The Queen's
P 1907 *Knowles, R. K., Capt., 16th Manchester Regt.
G 1877***Koe, L. C. (C.B.E.), Bt. Col., formerly R. Irish Regt.; Staff
G 1912 Kreis, F. E. (M.C.), Capt., 5th Wiltshire Regt.

B 1888 *Labouchere, F. A. (T.D.), Major, 2nd Post Office Rifles
V 1906 Lacey, F. A., Capt., I.A.R.O. (Cavalry)
g 1913**‡Lacy Thompson, T. A. (D.S.O., M.C.), Lt., 4th Northumberland Fusiliers
L 1898 *Ladenburg, A. L. (M.C.), Capt., 8th (King's R. Irish) Hussars
H 1905‡‡Laidlay, J. W., Capt., 2nd The R. Scots
V 1901*‡Laing, N. O. (D.S.O.), Bt. Major, 4th (Q.O.) Hussars
L 1914 ‡Laird, J. D., Capt., 5th R. Fusiliers
W 1898**Laird, K. M. (D.S.O.), Bt. Lt.-Col., A. & S. Highlanders
W 1895 Laird, R. H., Capt., 20th The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
B 1899*†Lamaison, W. L., Lt., Queen's Westminsters, attd. 2/6th South Staffordshire Regt.
g 1897 Lambart, Ven. The Hon. H. E. S. S., Chaplain
L 1905***‡Lambert, A. F. (M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
H 1913 †Lambert, F. H., Lt., 2nd Hampshire Regt.
H 1883 Lambert, J. H. (O.B.E.), Lt.-Col., R.M.L.I. (Paymaster)
L 1887 ‡Lambert, S., Lt.-Commander, R.V.N.R.
V 1889*******‡Lambert, T. S. (C.B., C.M.G., Legion of Honour, Croix de Guerre), East Lancashire Regt.; Major-General, 31st Division
g 1914 Lamont, L. N., Lt., 3rd Lowland Bde., R.F.A.
g 1912*‡‡Lampard, A. H., Lt., R.G.A., attd. R.A.F.
g 1912 †Lampard, P. S., Lance-Corporal, 1st H.A.C.
H 1905 Lampson, Sir C. G. (Bart.), Lt., 6th Som. L.I. & R.A.S.C.
P 1898 Lancaster, Henry, Lt., Recruiting Officer
P 1898 Lancaster, Hugh, Capt., Norfolk Regt. & R.A.F.

P 1898 †Lancaster, R., 2nd Lt., 7th Norfolk Regt.
B 1887 *Lane, A. E. C., Capt., 52nd Manitoba Regt.
V 1916 Lane, G. N. S., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
P 1884 Langridge, A. B. (T.D.), Capt., R.A.F. (Admin.)
B 1904 †Langrishe, H. R., 2nd Lt., Montgomery Yeo., attd. R.F.C.
P 1905 †Large, E. L., Capt., London Rifle Brigade
W 1913 ‡Larkworthy, E. G., Capt., 1st N. Midland Bde., R.F.A.
S 1904 Lascelles, H. F. (Croix de Guerre), Lt., 2nd Welsh Guards
g 1914 †Lasenby, S., 2nd Lt., E. Surrey, attd. 15th Hampshire Regt.
R 1914 Lassetter, W. P., Lt., R.F.A.
G 1880*****Last, A. J. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R.A.O.C.
S 1912‡‡Latham, G. A. B., 2nd Lt., 5th Reserve Cavalry
H 1901 *Lathbury, G. P. (D.S.C., Croix de Guerre), Major, R.M., attd. M.G.C.
G 1894***Law, W. H. P. (D.S.O.), Bt. Lt.-Col., R.A.S.C.
W 1892 Lawrence, Rev. G. H., Pte., R.A.M.C.
R 1899 Lawson, C. C. P., Trooper, Westminster Dragoons
B 1892 Layton, J. H., Major, 1st West Lancs. Bde., R.F.A.
B 1898 ‡Layton, P., Lt., 1st Dock Batt., The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
S 1895 †Lea, G. E., Capt., 1st Worcestershire Regt.
S 1885*****Lea, H. F. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour, Belgian Croix de Guerre), Lt.-Col., formerly Yorks. Regt. ; Staff
G 1915 Leach, J. B., Gunner, Tank Corps
S 1897*******Leachman, G. E. (C.I.E., D.S.O.), Bt. Lt.-Col., R. Sussex Regt. ; Political Officer, Mesopotamia
P 1896 †Leader, B. E., Capt., 3rd The Queen's, attd. Duke of Wellington's Regt.
P 1900 Leader, E. E., Lt., R.N.V.R.
H 1879 Leake, S. M., Major, Musketry Instructor, 52nd Brigade
S 1899**†Leatham, B. H. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., Yorkshire Regt., attd. 2nd Wiltshire Regt.
g 1912*‡Leatham, C. B. (M.C. with Bar), Major, 6th K.O.Y.L.I.
g 1905‡‡Leatham, C. G. (M.C. with Bar), Capt., The Queen's & General List
S 1891 Leatham, C. M., Capt., form. Norfolk Regt. ; Adjt. & Q.-M.
g 1910 Leatham, H. W., Capt., R.A.M.C.
S 1901***Leatham, N. C. (O.B.E.), Capt., R.A.S.C.
g 1895*‡‡Leathart, A. H. (M.C., Croix de Guerre), Capt., Northumbrian Bde., R.F.A.
g 1895 ‡Leathart, J. G. (M.C.), Major, 6th Northumberland Fus.
g 1912 †Le Bas, O. V., Lt., 2nd The Queen's & R.F.C.
g 1906 Le Bas, R. S., Capt., 1st attd. 7th Somerset L.I.
V 1905‡‡Le Breton, F. H. (M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
S 1885 Lechmere, A. H., Capt., Depôt, Worcestershire Regt.
S 1902*‡Lechmere, R. B. H., Major, 5th Dragoon Guards, attd. R.A.F. (Records)
G 1884 Ledward, G. H., Lt.-Col., Depôt, The Border Regt.
P 1903 Lee, C. B., Major, R.F.A.
G 1898 Leechman, G. B., Lt., 1st Reserve Cavalry
S 1912 Le Fleming, J. N., Lt., 1st Kent Cyclist Battalion
G 1910 †Legard, G. P., Lt., 2nd Northumberland Fusiliers
G 1917 Leggatt, D. H. M., Sub-Lt., H.M.S. *Barham*
P 1896 Legge, F. A., Lt., R.A.S.C.
P 1898 Legge, G. S., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
G 1912 Le Gros, A. A., Capt., 8th Middlesex Regt.
V 1909 †Leland, W. A., Lt., 10th Bedfordshire Regt.

P 1892*‡‡Leman, G. E. (O.B.E., Russian Order of St. Stanislas), Lt.-Col., 1st attd. 7th North Staffordshire Regt.
P 1912 *Leman, S. C., Lt., 8th Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
S 1910 ‡Le Mesurier, J. F. R. (M.C.), Lt., 1st Lancs. Fusiliers
R 1914*†Le Sauvage, E. D., 2nd Lt., 1st Dorset Regt. & R.F.C.
S 1883***‡Lethbridge, F. W. (D.S.O., Italian Silver Medal for Military Valour, Croce di Guerra), Lt.-Col., 10th Duke of Wellington's Regt.
S 1912 Letten, F. S. (M.C.), Capt., 2/5th Lincolnshire Regt.
P 1905 Lever, J. D., 2nd Lt., 3rd Reserve Cavalry
S 1886*****‡‡‡Lewes, C. G., (C.M.G., D.S.O.), Essex Regt.; Brigadier-General
S 1877**Lewes, J., Bt. Col., formerly R.G.A.; Staff
L 1885**‡Lewes, P. K. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R.G.A.
R 1905 Lewis, C. C. C., Capt., I.A.R.O.; Asst. Political Officer
P 1900 ‡Lewis, C. E. T., Lt., M.G.C.
B 1915 Lewis, J. B., Pte., East Lancashire Regt.
G 1895 *Lewis, L. C., Lt.-Col., R.A.O.C.
G 1893**Lewis, P. E. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), Bt. Col., R.A.
g 1916 Lewns, E. P., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
S 1908**Liddell, D. E. (M.C.), Capt., R.A.
G 1898 Lidderdale, E. H., Lt., R.A.S.C.
G 1913 Liddle, D. G., Lt., 6th The Buffs & R.F.C.
V 1891 *Liddon, M. R., Bt. Major, Yorkshire Regt.
G 1900 Light, P. (M.C.), Pte., H.A.C. & Capt., 15th Cheshire Regt.
G 1904 Light, R., Lt., Sherwood Foresters
G 1911 Lightbody, E. C. (M.C.), Lt., R.E.
G 1911 †Lightbody, W. P. N., Lt., 9th Norfolk Regt.
S 1895 Lindsay, Rev. Hon. E. R. (M.M.), Gunner, R.G.A.
W 1911 Lindsay, J. A. N., 2nd Lt., R.A.S.C., attd. R. Irish Rifles
S 1895 Lindsay, Hon. L. (M.C., Legion of Honour), Capt., 16th 60th Rifles
W 1911 Lindsay, R. L. G., Lt., R.E.
G 1912 †Lipscomb, E. L., Lt., 3rd attd. 2nd R. Berkshire Regt.
B 1908 *Lister, C. M. (M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
H 1897 ‡Lister, W. K., Capt., R.G.A.
G 1899 ‡Litchfield, A. C. A. (M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
G 1895 *Litchfield, P. C. (M.C.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
L 1915 Lithgow, R. P. A. D., Lt., R.E.
V 1902‡*p*Little, E., Lt., 4th Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
V 1903 Little, G. J. K., Lt., 4th Coldstream Guards
G 1901 Little, J. O., Capt. & Adjt., Indian Defence Force
L 1908 †Livesey, A. G. H., 2nd Lt., 3rd attd. 1st Loyal North Lancashire Regt.
g 1893 *Livingstone, W. H. D., Capt., 3rd Northumb. Fusiliers
H 1874 Lloyd, E. T. (formerly I.C.S.), Major, R. Defence Corps
G 1904 †Lloyd, L. J. B., Lt., 2nd King's Shropshire L.I.
G 1900 Lloyd, R. E. J., Lt., Denbighshire Yeomanry
G 1899*†Lloyd, R. L., Major, R. Welsh Fusiliers; Brigade Major
P 1901 *Lloyd, W. A. C. (M.C.), Major, 7th Leeds Rifles
L 1895 Lock, A. D., Driver, R.A.S.C.
H 1893 Lock, J. L., Lt., R.A.M.C.
H 1904 Lock, N. F., Capt., R.A.M.C.
d 1892 Lock, P. G., Capt., R.A.M.C.
D 1914‡‡‡Loddington-Smith, G. M., Lt., 8th K.O.S. Borderers
G 1912 ‡Lodge, A. P. D., Lt., 3rd The Queen's
G 1913 *Lodge, C. W. G., Lt., R.A.S.C.
D 1893****Logan, F. D. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour), Brigadier-General, R.A.

R 1906 Lomax, A. G., Lt., R.F.A.
L 1900****Longcroft, C. A. H. (C.M.G., D.S.O., A.F.C., Legion of Honour, Russian Order of St. Stanislas), The Welsh Regt. & R.A.F. ; Brigadier-General
W 1903 Longstaffe, V. C. H., Major, R.A.F. (Admin.)
B 1913 †Longworth Dames, T.D., Lt., 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons
D 1891 Lord, R. S., Major, R.F.A.
H 1916 Loud, J. K., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
G 1904 †Lovell, J. A., Lt., 2nd Life Guards
H 1913 †Lovell, J. C., Lt., 10th The Cameronians
H 1907 Lovell, W. G. C., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
P 1905 ‡Low, F. S. (M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
g 1902 *Lowe, F. G., Capt., I.A.R.O.
S 1904 Lowe, J. J., Sapper, R.E.
W 1907 †Lowry, S. H. (M.C.), Capt., 1st Hertfordshire Regt.
S 1886 *Lowry-Corry, A., Major, R.A.O.C.
S 1889 Lowry-Corry, Rev. G., Chaplain
S 1887****‡Lowther, Sir H. C. (K.C.M.G., C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O., Legion of Honour), Major-General
W 1894 Lukis, C. W. F., Driver, New Zealand A.S.C.
L 1904*‡Lumley, C. N. H. (M.B.E., Legion of Honour), Capt., 7th S. Lancashire Regt.
L 1908*‡Lumsden, D. (M.C., Legion of Honour), Capt., 1st The Black Watch
S 1897 *Lushington, M. H., Capt., R.F.A.
S 1905 ‡Luxford, C., Major, E. Surrey Regt., attd. W. African F.F.
W 1905 Lyell, G. D., Capt., I.A.R.O., attd. 7th Hariana Lancers
W 1905 Lyell, T. R. G., Capt., I.A.R.O. ; Asst. Political Officer

L 1898 Macalister, G. H. K. (M.D.), Capt., Indian Medical Service
S 1899 †Macan, R. B., Capt., 28th Light Cavalry, attd. 30th Lancers
W 1885 Macartney, C. G., Capt., 8th R. Irish Rifles
R 1911 Macaulay, D. I. O., Surgeon Sub-Lt., R.N.V.R.
L 1897***‡McCall, H. W. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour, Order of the Nile), Bt. Lt.-Col., 2nd Yorkshire Regt.
L 1909 McCall, M. G. T. (M.C.), Capt., 13th Yorkshire Regt.
g 1890 *McClean, F. K. (A.F.C.), Lt.-Col., R.A.F.
S 1906*‡McCleland, N. P. K. J. O'N., Capt., 3rd R. West Kent Regt., attd. R.E.
S 1893****McClintock, R. S. (D.S.O., Legion of Honour), Bt. Lt.-Col., R.E.
S 1896 *McClintock-Bunbury, Hon. T. L. (M.B.E., Order of the Crown of Italy, Croce di Guerra), Capt., Special List
H 1880 McConaghey, A. (C.I.E.), Lt.-Col., Indian Army
D 1897 McDermott, E. D., 2nd Lt., R.E.
D 1903 †McDermott, R. K., Capt., 3rd attd. 2nd Seaforth Highrs.
D 1900*‡McDermott, W. K., Capt., 6th The Buffs
D 1912 ‡Macdonald, A. D. (M.C. with Bar), Capt., 2nd Lancs. Fus.
L 1912**‡‡McDonald, G. (M.C.), Capt., 1st Gordon Highlanders
L 1914 MacDonald, I., Lt., 5th Grenadier Guards
S 1909 *Macdonald, W. I. F., Capt., Leicestershire Yeomanry
D 1913 ‡McDonell, K. C. B., Lt., 7th Cameron Highlanders
P 1912 *McDougal, E. T. M. (M.C.), Capt., 1st Scots Guards
W 1903 MacDougall, C. A., Sergt., R. Fus., attd. Intelligence Corps
g 1898**MacEwen, N. D. K. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders & R.A.F. ; Brigadier-General
H 1911 ‡Macfarlane, W. C., Lt., 12th Yorkshire Regt.
D 1912 ‡Macfarlane, W. W. (D.C.M.), Corporal, R.E.

g 1886 Macfie, J., Capt., The Rifle Brigade, attd. I.A.R.O.; Deputy Judge Advocate-General
W 1887*†McGildowny, W. (D.S.O.), Major, R.G.A.
G 1910 MacGillycuddy, A. J., Lt., 3rd R. Munster Fusiliers
H 1917 McGuffie, T. D., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
W 1913 McInnes, A. N., 2nd Lt., 4th attd. 35th Northumberland Fusiliers
W 1917 McInnes, G. T., Sub-Lt., H.M.S. *Marlborough*
W 1913 †McInnes, J. E., 2nd Lt., 5th Sherwood Foresters
B 1908*†McJannet, H. W., Capt., R.F.A.
V 1898 Mackenzie, C. C. F., 2nd Lt., R.E.
L 1909 †Mackenzie, D. C., Lt., 1st Seaforth Highlanders
R 1908 †Mackenzie, G. M., Capt., 3rd attd. 1st Seaforth Highrs.
L 1902 †McKerrow, C. K., Capt., R.A.M.C., attd. 10th Northumberland Fusiliers
H 1905 Mackie, E. R., Capt., R.A.S.C.
H 1908 †Mackie, W. T., Pte., 3rd London Scottish (Signals)
H 1911 McKinlay, A. B., Despatch Rider, P.S.B., R. Fusiliers; Y.M.C.A. (Motor Transport)
S 1895 Mackinnon, A. D. E., Pte., 2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles
G 1907 †Mackintosh, E. H., Lt., 8th The Black Watch
W 1907 ‡Mackness, L. R., Lt., R.E.
g 1904 *Mackwood, J. C. (M.C.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
G 1905 *a*Mackworth, A. C. P., Lt., 13th The Rifle Brigade
V 1912 McLaren, J. M., Lt., 6th West Yorkshire Regt.
P 1908 ‡MacLelland, K. T. (M.C.), Capt., R.E.
P 1905 †MacLelland, R. C., Lt., 9th Highland L.I.
V 1912‡*p*Macleod, L. (Russian Cross of St. George), Capt., The Black Watch
L 1913 †McNair, E. A. (V.C.), Capt., 9th R. Sussex Regt.; Staff, New Armies
g 1907 ‡McNair, F. R., Capt., 6th The Queen's
L 1904**McNair, G. D. (M.B.E.), Lt., I.A.R.O.
L 1886 *McNair, R. J., Capt., 6th East Surrey Regt.; Adjt., Surrey Volunteer Corps
B 1896 McNeile, A. M., Bt. Major, Eton College O.T.C.
P 1917 McNeill, J., 2nd Lt., 1st The Black Watch
P 1912 †McNeill, N., 2nd Lt., 1st The Black Watch
L 1889 Macpherson, A. D., Lt.-Col., Indian Army
P 1892 Maconchy, G. E. C., 2nd Lt., R.A.F. (Admin.)
S 1901 ‡McTavish, F. H. C., Capt., 8th The Black Watch
P 1911 ‡McWilliam, O. G. E., Capt., 5th R. Inniskilling Fusiliers
G 1913*‡‡Maffett, C. W., Capt., 1st R. Dublin Fusiliers
S 1913 †Maggs, E. W. B., 2nd Lt., 60th Rifles
V 1892 Mainwaring, E. C., 2nd Lt., 2nd The Artists' Rifles O.T.C.
D 1886**‡Mairis, G. B. de M. (D.S.O., Legion of Honour), Lt.-Col., 1st Yorkshire Regt., attd. Dorsetshire Regt.
P 1892***‡Maitland, C. A. S. (D.S.O.), Bt. Lt.-Col., 7th Gordon Highlanders
H 1906 Maitland, E. T., Lt., R.A.F.
V 1908*‡Maitland-Dougall, W. E. (D.S.O., M.C.), Bt. Major, R.F.A.
L 1899*‡Maitland-Makgill-Crichton, A. G. (D.S.O., M.C.), Lt.-Col., 5th Cameron Highlanders & 4th R. Lancaster Regt.
L 1896*******‡Maitland-Makgill-Crichton, H. C. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour), Bt. Lt.-Col., R. Scots Fus.; Staff
L 1915 ‡Maitland-Makgill-Crichton, J. D., Lt., The Black Watch
G 1914 Malcolmson, K. G., Capt., R.G.A.

a Died in London, November 25, 1917.

W 1878 †Malcolmson, J. G., formerly 3rd Gordon Highlanders, Capt., London Guard
L 1900 Malden, J. W. S., Lt., Northamptonshire Yeomanry
g 1902 Malkin, H. W., Lt., Inns of Court O.T.C.
G 1896 *Mallinson, A. W. R. (M.C.), Major, R.A.S.C.
Master Mallory, G. H. L., Lt., R.G.A.
P 1889 Mander, A. C., Inspr., S. W. African Expeditionary Force
g 1887 †Mander, D'A. W., Major, 2nd Durham L.I.
g 1898 Mander, R., Major, 1st attd. 7th Duke of Cornwall's L.I.
G 1914 †Manley, F. C. C., Lt., R.A.F.
D 1914 *p*Manley, G. A. C., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
L 1912**Mann, F. J. (M.C.), Capt., Trench Mortar Battery
S 1913 †Mann, I. A. (M.C.), Lt., 5th The Cameronians & R.F.C.
S 1915 ‡Mann, J. H. (M.B.E.), Capt., 3rd The Cameronians
W 1913 Mann, P. D., Capt., Durham L.I. & General List
D 1894*†Mansel, J. Ll., Capt., 7th Dragoon Guards
S 1912 †Mansell, L. W., 2nd Lt., Derbyshire Yeomanry, attd. 14th Durham L.I.
H 1915 †Mansfield, J. R., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
H 1910 Mansfield, P. T., 2nd Lt., I.A.R.O.
d 1902 Manson, E. B., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
d 1897 Manson, F. P., 2nd Lt., 13th G.I.P. Ry. Batt., I.D.F.
P 1904 Manson, G. B., 2nd Lt., 12th Lancashire Fusiliers
H 1905 †Mappin, F. T., Probationer, R.F.C.
L 1907 *Marc, G. J. A., Major, 4th E. Anglian Bde., R.F.A.
V 1905 †Marchetti, E., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
L 1915 Marcus, E. V. H., Lt., R.F.A.
H 1901 †Markham, M. W., 2nd Lt., 2nd Scots Guards
D 1887**†Markham, R. A., Major, 2nd Coldstream Guards
R 1910 Marriott, F. C., Lt., R.G.A.
G 1898 †Marriott, H. N., Capt., 12th East Yorkshire Regt.
V 1915 Marrot, H. V., Lt., 16th South Lancashire Regt.
V 1893**Marsden, C. H. (O.B.E.), Major, Yorkshire Regt. ; Staff
S 1913 Marsden, J. N., Gunner, Tank Corps
L 1917 Marsh, C. M., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
P 1912**‡Marsh, J. S. (M.C. with Bar), Major, R.F.A.
H 1907 Marshall, A., Lt., R.A.S.C., attd. R.A.F.
W 1908 †Marshall, C., 2nd Lt., 7th South Staffordshire Regt.
W 1904 Marshall, E. H., Capt., S. Notts. Hussars, attd. R.A.F.
D 1898 Marshall, E. T., Major, R.F.A.
L 1902 Marshall, F. P., Capt., 8th Middlesex Regt.
P 1914 †Marshall, J. A., 2nd Lt., Hunts. Cyclist Batt. & R.F.C.
V 1912 †Marshall, J. S. C., Lt., 2nd Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
P 1914 Marshall, T. R., 2nd Lt., Indian Army
R 1898 Marshall, W. T., Lt., 6th Sherwood Foresters
B 1900 *Martin, E. K., Major, R.A.M.C.
H 1906 ‡Martin, F. D., Capt., 11th Sherwood Foresters
G 1916 †Martin, F. H. (M.C.), Lt., 5th attd. 2nd Coldstream Guards
S 1914 Martineau, G. D., Lt., 2nd R. Sussex Regt.
G 1902 ‡Marwood, A. H. L., Capt., York & Lancaster Regt., attd. W. African F.F.
G 1903 †Marwood, C. P. L., Capt., R. Warwickshire Regt., attd. 1st Nigeria Regt.
L 1901 †Mason, A. H., Capt., 5th Norfolk Regt.
H 1908 Mason, E. S., Lt., 17th London Regt.
R 1901 *Mason, H. L. (D.S.O., M.C.), Capt., R.F.A.
W 1903**Mason, L. (O.B.E., M.C., Belgian Croix de Guerre), Capt., R.F.A.

W 1908 *a*Mason, S. S., Pte., H.A.C.
G 1901 Mason, T. H., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
L 1891 Massey, A. S., R.N.V.R. ; Anti-Aircraft Corps
H 1898 †Massey, J. H. (M.C., Croix de Guerre), Capt., R.F.A.
S 1888 *Massingberd, S., Major, 3rd Lincolnshire Regt.
S 1904 ‡Master, L. C. H., Lt., R.F.A.
S 1912 Masterman, K. C., Cpl., 40th Australian Infantry
V 1904 Mather, A., Pte., R.A.M.C.
V 1904 †Mather, A. L., 2nd Lt., 3rd York & Lancaster Regt.
D 1893 Mather, Rev. H., Chaplain
G 1899*‡Mathias, J. H. (O.B.E.), Major, 2nd Sherwood Foresters
G 1895 Mathias, W. D., Capt., R.G.A.
L 1909 *Mathieson, D., Lt., 10th The Black Watch & General List
W 1901*‡Matthew, A. J., Capt., 12th West Yorkshire Regt. & Egyptian Army
S 1897 Matthews, G. W., Major, R.G.A.
S 1896 †Matthews, J. H., Capt., 1st Northumberland Fusiliers
W 1899 †Matthews, L. M., Lt., R.A.S.C.
S 1897 †Matthews, R. M., 2nd Lt., 9th Yorkshire Regt.
R 1913 Matthews, R. W. Y., Lt., 1st Wessex Bde., R.F.A.
g 1881 Matthey, C. G. R. (V.D.), Lt.-Col., London Rifle Brigade
g 1892 Matthey, H. W. P., Capt., 1st Life Guards
B 1912 ‡Mattingley, E. G., Lt., R.A.F.
H 1913 Mattison, O. H., Lt., Civil Service Rifles
g 1915 Matveieff, V., 2nd Lt., 4th Loyal North Lancashire Regt.
g 1912 Maude, M. B. (M.C.), Capt., 5th R. Fusiliers
g 1894 Maude, H. W., Corporal, Canadian M.G.C.
S 1888***Maude, R. W. (D.S.O., Croix de Guerre), Major, Spec. List
R 1892 *Maunde-Thompson, F. G., Major, R.G.A.
L 1916 Maunsell, F. R. G., Sub-Lt., H.M.S. *Iroquois*
R 1906 ‡Mawer, A. B., Capt., 12th Durham L.I.
D 1913 †Maxwell, T., 2nd Lt., 8th R. Dublin Fusiliers
G 1897 ‡May, H. R. D. (M.C.), Capt., 5th R. Warwickshire Regt.
H 1911 Mayhew, T. R., Lt., 3rd Leicester Regt., attd. R.A.F. (Tech.)
B 1912 ‡Mead, A. P. (M.C.), Lt., 16th Lancers, attd. M.G.C.
B 1906*†Mead, C., Lt., 4th attd. 2nd East Surrey Regt.
B 1910 †Mead, G. P., Corporal, Despatch Rider, R.E.
B 1904 Mead, J. P., Major, 4th East Surrey Regt., attd. Egyptian Army
L 1901 Medcalf, E. F. (Greek M.C.), Major, 8th Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
L 1905 Medcalf, H. (M.B.E.), Capt., Hants. Aircraft Parks R.A.F.
L 1901 Medwin, S. A., 2nd Lt., R.A.S.C.
D 1900 Megaw, J. G K., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
S 1891 Mellor, A. S., Lt., R.A.M.C.
S 1897 Mellor, J. F. S., Capt., R.A.S.C.
S 1890***Mellor, J. G. S. (C.B., C.M.G., Legion of Honour), Brigadier-General ; Deputy Judge Advocate-General
D 1905*‡Melville, C. M. (M.C.), Lt., R. Fus., attd. 10th Lond. Regt.
L 1890 Mendel, S., Staff-Sergt., R.A.S.C.
P 1900 Mercer-Adam, J. B., Capt., Upper Burma Vol. Rifles
R 1914‡‡Merrylees, K. W., Lt., R.E.
H 1913 ‡Meston, D., Capt., R.G.A.
V 1913 ‡Metaxa, A., Capt., R.F.A.
S 1909 Metcalfe, C., Lt., R.G.A.
G 1902 Metcalfe, H. A. F. (I.C.S.), Lt., 5th Punjab Light Horse

a Drowned in the sinking of R.M.S. *Lusitania*, May 7, 1915.

L 1909 Metcalfe, P. H. G., 2nd Lt.. 4th (R. Irish) Dragoon Guards
G 1879 Metcalfe-Smith, B. (C.B.E.), Lt.-Col., formerly W. Yorkshire Regt. ; Commandant, Prisoners of War Camp
S 1917 ‡Metherell, J. K., 2nd Lt., 5th The Rifle Brigade
W 1911 Michie, A., Lt., 7th Sherwood Foresters
W 1907‡‡Michie, A. H., Lt., Sherwood Foresters
B 1899 Middleton, H. D., Capt., 1st W. Riding Bde., R.F.A.
V 1896**Middleton, W. (O.B.E., Order of the Nile), Major, King's Shropshire L.I., attd. Egyptian Army
V 1896*****‡‡Middleton, W. H. (D.S.O., Italian Silver Medal for Military Valour), Lt.-Col., 3rd Hampshire Regt., attd. 10th Northumberland Fusiliers
P 1903**‡‡Milburn, B. (D.S.O., M.C.), Lt., 5th Coldstream Guards
W 1899*‡Milburn, L. E. (M.C.), Major, 4th Suffolk Regt.
V 1877 Mildmay, W. H. St. J., Bt. Major, R.F.A
L 1908 Miles, W. V., 2nd Lt., 10th Essex Regt.
L 1906 Millar, E. G., Lt., 4th The Buffs
R 1913‡‡Millburn, R. C. M., 2nd Lt., M.G.C.
L 1877 *Miller, C. D., Col., formerly 5th Sherwood Foresters ; Deputy Director of Remounts
L 1914 *Miller, G. W. M., Major, 10th The R. Scots
g 1902 †Miller, J. L., Lt., 3rd Post Office Rifles
B 1903 Miller, J. M. C., Lt., R.A.O.C.
G 1911*‡Miller, J. S., Capt., 4th Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders
G 1910 Miller, R. R. O'C., Capt., South Staffordshire Regt.
S 1914 †Miller, W. R. F., Lt., 10th Devonshire Regt.
W 1916 Milles, H. L. (M.C.), Lt., 1st The Buffs
G 1912*†Mills, C. G., 2nd Lt., 1st Coldstream Guards
V 1901 Mills, G. H., Capt., R.A.O.C.
B 1915 Mills, H. T. V., 2nd Lt., Labour Corps
G 1897***Mills, J. D. (T.D.), Major, Warwickshire Yeomanry, attd. M.G.C.
H 1896 Mills, T. P., Capt., 1st London Regt.
G 1914 ‡Mills, W. S., Lt., Guards M.G. Regt.
P 1912 Milman, H. R., Lt., 7th South Lancashire Regt.
S 1880 Milne, Rev. E. A., Chaplain, attd. W. Somerset Yeomanry
H 1896 Milner, R. E. D., Lt.-Col., 2nd Dragoon Gds. (Queen's Bays)
S 1913 Milton, F. R. G. (M.C.), Capt., R.F.A.
V 1910‡‡Mitcalfe, W. S. (M.C.), Lt., 2nd Northumbrian Bde., R.F.A.
H 1905*†Mitchell, A. C. O., Lt., 4th South Wales Borderers
H 1900 †Mitchell, G. S., Major, 3rd attd. 11th The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
L 1902 *Mitchell, H. E., Major, Remount Service
H 1900 †Mitchell, J. A. S., Capt., 3rd King's Shropshire L.I.
H 1886 *Mitchell, Rev. P. R. (O.B.E.), Chaplain, The Tower of London
L 1906 Mitchell, S. B., 2nd Lt., 20th London Regt.
H 1905***‡Modera, F. S. (D.S.O. with Bar, M.C.), Lt.-Col., 20th R. Fusiliers, attd. 1st Lancashire Fusiliers
D 1896**Moens, A. W. H. M. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), Col., 52nd Sikhs ; Staff
D 1894**Moens, S. G. A. M. (C.I.E., C.B.E., Knight of St. John), Hon. Lt.-Col. ; Red Cross Commissioner, Mesopotamia
D 1898***‡‡‡Moir, H. L. (D.S.O., with Bar, T.D., Croix de Guerre), Lt.-Col., 7th Cheshire Regt.
D 1908**‡‡Moir, M. E. (D.S.O., Croix de Guerre), Major, R.F.A.
G 1911*†Möllmann, H. B., Capt., 4th Leinster Regt.
D 1916 Moncrieff, K., Surgeon Sub-Lt., R.N.V.R.

R 1883*****Money, Sir A. W. (K.C.B., K.B.E., C.S.I., Serbian Order of the White Eagle, Hellenic Order of The Redeemer, Order of the Nile), Major-General, R.A.; Chief of Staff, Mesopotamia; Chief Administrator, Palestine
W 1899 †Money, C. A. G., Major, 130th Baluchis
B 1914 Monier Williams, L. D. B., Capt., R.A.F.
g 1889*******Monkhouse, W. P. (C.B., C.M.G., M.V.O., Legion of Honour, Croix de Guerre), Brigadier-General, R.A.
L 1909 ‡Monro, C. C. A., Capt., M.G.C.
S 1884**Monson, A. D. J., Lord (Order of the Crown of Italy), Hon. Lt.-Col., British Red Cross
S 1897***Montagu, St. J. E. (O.B.E., Legion of Honour), Major, formerly Northumberland Fusiliers; Salvage Dept.
D 1889*********Montgomery, Sir A. A. (K.C.M.G., C.B., Legion of Honour, D.S.M. of U.S.A., Croix de Guerre), Major-General, R.A.; Chief of Staff, 4th Army
D 1892 †Moody, R. H. M., Capt., 2nd Lancashire Fusiliers
V 1885**pMoore, A. (C.M.G.), Lt.-Col., 66th Punjabis
L 1916 ‡Moore, C. S., 2nd Lt., 8th Gurkhas
V 1887****Moore, G. A. (C.M.G., D.S.O., M.D.), Col., A.M.S.
V 1910 †Moore, G. A. C., Lt., 8th The Cameronians
R 1900 ‡Moore, H. G. (M.C.), Major, R.G.A.
g 1910 *Moore, J. W., Lt., R.A.S.C.
B 1908 ‡Moore, L. Leslie, 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
G 1887***‡‡‡‡Morant, H. H. S. (D.S.O. with Bar), Durham L.I.; Brigadier-General
S 1913 †Mordaunt Smith, L. St. G., 2nd Lt., 2nd R. Inniskilling Fusiliers
R 1902 Morgan, A. E., Capt., R.E.
S 1917 Morgan, D. B., 2nd Lt., 2nd Welsh Guards
L 1876 Morgan, H., Lt.-Col., formerly S. Wales Borderers; Staff
V 1882 Morgan, H. R. (V.D.), Major, 5th Norfolk Regt.
H 1897 ‡Morgan, J. E. (Portuguese Mil. Order of Aviz), Lt., H.A.C.
g 1889**Morgan, K. P. Vaughan (O.B.E.), Lt.-Col., R.A.S.C.
R 1905**‡Morgan, N. A. (M.C.), Capt., 2nd Leicestershire Regt.
V 1909 ‡Morkill, A. G., Lt., R.G.A.
V 1883********Morland, Sir T. L. N. (K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour, Belgian Order of the Crown, French & Belgian Croix de Guerre), Lt.-General, 13th Corps
L 1910 Morley, J., Lt., 10th Essex Regt.
G 1909 Morrice, J. A., Capt., Lowland Divl. R.F.A.
G 1911 Morrice, W., Capt., Q.O.R. Glasgow Yeo., attd. R.A.F.
L 1901 Morris, H. W., Lt., R.N.V.R.
W 1902 Morris, N. H., Lt., 4th Wiltshire Regt.
P 1893 †Morris, N. P., Capt., R.A.F.
W 1903 Morrison, B. C., Lt., R.A.S.C.
W 1911 *Morrison, J. S. F. (D.F.C. with Bar, Italian Silver and Bronze Medals for Military Valour), Major, R.A.F.
W 1915 †Morrison, N. W., 2nd Lt., R.F.C.
g 1912 †Morrison, R. B., Flight Sub-Lt., R.N.A.S.
W 1912 Morrison, R. G., Lt., 3rd (K.O.) Hussars, attd. R.A.F.
g 1895**Mort, G. M. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 8th (King's R. Irish) Hussars
P 1906 †Moss, J. M., 2nd Lt., R.A.S.C.
P 1902 Moss, T., Capt., 30th Punjabis
P 1898 Moss, W. L. H., Capt., R.A.S.C.
D 1905 ‡Mounsey, J. P., Lt., 18th Lancs. Fus. & K. African Rifles
H 1916 Mountain, B. E. S., 2nd Lt., 9th (Q.O.) Lancers

D 1906 ‡Mountford, E. W., Capt., 5th The Queen's
R 1917 Mowbray, Sir G. R. (Bart.), 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
W 1908‡‡‡Moxey, J. L., Capt., 6th attd. 4th R. Fusiliers
S 1914 Moy, E. T., 2nd Lt., 3rd Suffolk Regt.
P 1897**Mucklow, C. D., Capt., R.A.S.C.
g 1907 *Mumford, L. F., Lt., 9th Middlesex, attd. 7th Essex Regt.
G 1912 Mumford, P. S., Capt., 2nd Co. of Lond. Yeo. & R.A.F. (Ad.)
B 1911 Murdoch, A., Capt., Lanarkshire Yeomanry
L 1887 Murdoch, A., Capt., R.A.M.C.
L 1897*‡Murdoch, C. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R. East Kent Yeomanry, attd. 15th Hampshire Regt.
B 1899 Murphy, H. L., Sub-Lt., R.N.
B 1888 †Murphy, J. K. (M.D.), Staff-Surgeon, R.N.V.R.
L 1915 ‡Murphy, J. R. K., Lt., 52nd Sikhs, attd. Hodson's Horse
D 1908 Murray, D. C. L. (M.C.), Lt., 5th Middlesex Regt.
S 1908 Murray, R. B., Capt., Victoria Rifles
P 1917 Musgrave, J. P., Lt., 6th The Rifle Brigade, attd. R.E.
H 1913 Musgrave, N. C., 2nd Lt., 3rd Grenadier Guards
P 1915 Musgrave Brooksbank, A. G. S. (M.C.), Lt., 5th North Staffordshire Regt.
W 1898**Musker, H. (O.B.E.), Capt., Suffolk Yeomanry

D 1903 *Nalder, H. G., Lt.-Cdr., R.N.V.R., Armoured Car Section
B 1912‡‡Napier, A. J. R., Lt., 1st Cheshire Regt. & R.A.F.
V 1912*‡Nash, A. F., Major, R.F.A.
g 1887****Nash, H. E. P. (D.S.O. with Bar), The R. Scots ; Brig.-General.
L 1899 †Nash, M. V. J., 2nd Lt., 25th (Cyclist) London Regt.
V 1916 Nathan, L. G. (M.C.), Lt., M.G.C.
W 1908*******Naylor, R. F. B. (D.S.O., M.C., Legion of Honour), Bt. Major, S. Staffordshire Regt., attd. R.E. (Signals)
G 1908 Neale, A. R., Pte., 4th Canadian Infantry
V 1915 Neale, B. P., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
B 1900 *Neate, A. C. B. (M.C.), Capt., R.G.A.
S 1880 Need, W. J., formerly R. W. Kent Regt., Capt., T.F. Res.
L 1902 Neilson, W. P., Capt., Scottish Horse, attd. Labour Corps
D 1910 Neilson-Terry, D., Lt., 7th The Queen's
B 1908 Nelder, J. V. R., Capt., 1st Surrey Rifles
V 1887 *a*Nesham, R. A., Surgeon-Major, 1st Northumberland Brigade, R.F.A.
H 1883 Nevile, P. G., Major, 18th Durham L.I.
G 1895 Nevill, H. R. (O.B.E., I.C.S.), Lt.-Col., I.A.R.O.
R 1909 Nevill, R. H. R., Capt., 8th Norfolk Regt.
S 1895 †Neville, L. J. N., Major, R.E.
G 1907‡‡New, R. H., Lt., 5th Worcs. Regt., attd. R.A.F. (Admin.)
G 1904 New, W. S., 2nd Lt., R.E.
D 1914 †Newall, J. H. M., Sub-Lt., " Drake " Batt., R.N. Division
L 1916‡‡Newbigging, E. R., Lt., 3rd Scots Guards
V 1903 Newgass, E. I. A., Driver, R.A.S.C.
V 1879 *Newill, R.A. (T.D.), Major, Shropshire R.H.A. (T.F. Res.)
W 1904‡‡Newman, F. A. B., Capt., R.G.A.
V 1905 ‡Newman, Rev. G. G., Chaplain, attd. R.A.M.C.
V 1912 Newsome, T. H., Lt., R.A.F.
W 1882 †Newson, W. A., Major, 3rd London Regt.

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a Died at Newcastle-on-Tyne, February 5, 1919.

P 1913‡‡‡*a*Nichol, E. F. (M.C.), Capt., 3rd Loyal North Lancashire Regt. & R.A.F.
P 1911 †Nichol, J., Capt., 1st R. Scots Fusiliers & R.F.C.
P 1911**p*Nichol, R. W., Capt., R.A.F.
V 1895 ‡Nichols, C. T., Gunner, Canadian Field Artillery
B 1911 Nichols, H. W. L., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
B 1900 Nicholson, C. J., Capt., R.A.M.C.
V 1880***Nicholson, G. H. (C.B., C.M.G.), formerly Hampshire Regt. ; Brigadier-General
L 1896*******Nicholson, W. N. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), Bt. Lt.-Col. Suffolk Regt. ; Assistant Quarter-Master-General
R 1896 *Nickols, R., Major, 1st W. Riding Bde., R.F.A.
G 1914 ‡Nicolls, J. E. H. (M.C.), Lt., R.G.A.
L 1902 Nixon, B. H., Lt., General List
V 1905 Nixon, C. F., 2nd Lt., 2nd Life Guards
D 1907 †Noble, W. B., Lt., 6th Northumberland Fusiliers
L 1898 Noel, B. V. B., Capt., R.A.S.C.
R 1913‡‡Norman, H. R., Lt., The R. Scots, attd. Tank Corps
g 1911 Norman, J. W. D., Capt., R.A.S.C.
P 1898 Norris, H., Lt.-Col., 80th Carnatic Infantry
g 1914 Norris, J. F., Lt., 19th Hussars
W 1902 Norris, O. T., Lt., R.A.S.C.
g 1910 Norris, R. E. (M.C.), Lt., 5th The Rifle Brigade
W 1907 Norris, W. S., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
V 1900 ‡North Bomford, J. G., Major, 2nd R. Fusiliers, attd. R. Dublin Fusiliers
D 1900***Norton, E. F. (D.S.O., M.C.), Major, R.A.
V 1917 Norton, E. H. P., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
H 1892 †Nugent-Bankes, E., Capt., 2nd R. Dublin Fusiliers

S 1911 †O'Brien, Hon. D., Flight Lt., R.N.A.S.
V 1887 O'Connor, W. F. T. (C.I.E.), Lt.-Col., I.A. ; British Resident in Nepal
B 1915*‡Odell, T. U., Lt., R.F.A.
S 1910 O'Ferrall, C. L., Capt., 6th Sherwood Foresters, attd. R.E.
G 1895***‡Ogg, A. C. (D.S.O., O.B.E.), Major, 7th Rajputs
S 1909*†O'Hara, H. D. (D.S.O.), Lt., 1st R. Dublin Fusiliers
V 1880 Oldfield, E. P., Sergt., R.A.S.C.
R 1888 Oldfield, J. E. R., Capt., 2nd Lovat's Scouts
W 1896 O'Leary, A. P., 2nd Lt., 15th Hampshire Regt.
L 1908 *p*Oliphant, K. J. P., Capt., Wiltshire Regt. Interpreter
V 1906 Oliver, C. H., Lt., R.A.S.C.
V 1906 ‡Oliver, G. M., Lt., 3rd Scots Guards
W 1876 *Oliver, W. J. (C.B.E.), formerly R.A., Lt.-Col. & Hon. Col., R.A.O.C. ; Chief Ordnance Officer, Scotland
G 1915 Olivier, A. E., Lt., R.F.A.
S 1900***Ollivant, R. C. (O.B.E., Belgian Order of Leopold with palm, French & Belgian Croix de Guerre), Capt., 5th London Bde., R.F.A.
W 1915 †Ommanney, A. E. S., 2nd Lt., 1st attd. 6th The Buffs
H 1900**Ommanney, C. H., Major, R.F.A.
H 1902 *p*Oppé, E. F., A.B., R.N.V.R. ; R. Naval Brigade
H 1899 †Oppé, H. S., Lt., 6th Yorkshire Regt.
H 1897 †Oppé, T. A., 2nd Lt., 4th The Cameronians
W 1915 Orme, F. L., Lt., R.F.A.
R 1914 *Ormrod, R. M. C., Capt., 1st R. Welsh Fusiliers

a Died in consequence of an accident at Dunkirk, September 21, 1919.

g 1898 †Orton, E. H., 2nd Lt., 2nd The Cameronians
g 1897 ‡Orton, W. H., Lt., R.A.M.C.
R 1900 Orwin, J. S., Surgeon Lt.-Comdr., H.M.S. *Concord*
H 1904****‡‡‡*p*Otter, R. (M.C.), Bt. Major, 1st Norfolk Regt.
H 1898 †Otter, R. J. C., Capt., 3rd Norfolk Regt.
P 1917 ‡Ould, J. V., Lt., R.A.F.
W 1915 Oulton, W. R. (A.F.C.), Lt., Cheshire Regt., attd. R.A.F.
S 1898 ‡Owen, S. H. E. G., Lt., Pembroke Yeomanry
G 1880**Oxley, R. S. (C.B., C.M.G.), formerly 60th Rifles; Brigadier-General

V 1916 †Packe, R. C., Lt., R.A.F.
V 1906 †Paget, F. A. E., Pte., 2nd Sportsman's Batt., R. Fusiliers
V 1908 †Paget, G. G. B., 2nd Lt., 1st Northamptonshire Regt.
g 1903 ‡Palmer, C. C., Lt., Royal Marines
D 1885****Palmer, C. E. (C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Order of the Nile), Brigadier-General, R.A.
S 1884 Palmer, D. C., Major, 11th Hampshire Regt.
G 1903*‡Palmer, G. H. C., Capt., 2nd K.O. Yorkshire L.I.
G 1912 ‡Palmer, H. A., Capt., I.A.R.O.
B 1908 Palmer, R. V., Pte., R.A.M.C.
S 1899**‡Parish, F. W. (D.S.O., M.C.), Major, 60th Rifles
R 1903 Parke, C., Lt., R.F.A.
G 1911 Parker, A. F. C., 2nd Lt., The Rifle Brigade; Air Min.
g 1885 *Parker, H. W. M. (C.M.G.), Col., formerly R.G.A.; Staff
R 1906 ‡Parker, T. J., Capt., R.F.A.
G 1898 *Parker Jervis, E. M. (M.C.), Major, 3rd N. Midland Bde., R.F.A.
G 1897 *Parker Jervis, W. S. W. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 3rd attd. 5th 60th Rifles
V 1902 Parmenter, Rev. G. E. P., Chaplain, R.N.
B 1912 Parr, P. C., Lt., R.A.F. (Medical)
G 1908 Parry, C. O. St. J., Lt., 3rd The Queen's
G 1903 Parry, H. A. M., Lt., 6th South Lancashire Regt.
G 1882 Parry, J. B., Capt., R.G.A.
g 1909*pParsons, R. G. (M.C.), Lt., R.G.A.
H 1892 †Partridge, R. C. B. (M.C., Croix de Guerre), Capt., Shropshire Yeomanry, attd. King's Shropshire L.I.
R 1908 Paterson, R. C., Lt., Ayrshire Yeomanry
H 1912 *Paterson, W. H. (M.C.), Lt., 1st Gordon Highlanders
R 1917 Patey, D. H. A. R., Midshipman, R.N.V.R.; R.N. Div.
D 1914 *Patten, A. J. H. (M.C. with Bar), Capt., 8th Norfolk Regt.
B 1903 †Patterson, A., Capt., R.F.A.
d 1899 Patterson, J. (D.S.O.), Major, R.G.A.
B 1903 Patterson, Rev. L., Chaplain
P 1894 Patterson, R. F., Lt., Christ's Hospital O.T.C.
B 1907**Paul, A. J. R., Capt., Clyde R.G.A.; Min. of Munitions
S 1904 Paul, E. G., Lt., 5th Reserve Cavalry
H 1914 †Paull, B. D., Capt., R. Irish Rifles, attd. 8th E. Surrey R.
S 1912 *Payne, H. L. H., Capt., R.H.A.
S 1909 Payne-Gallwey, L. P. (M.C.), Capt., 7th Hussars
P 1882 *Paynter, C. H., formerly 6th Dragoons, Major, R. 1st Devon Yeomanry
D 1908 ‡Peache, R. C., Capt., R.E.
D 1909 *a*Peache, W. W., Lt., R.E.
R 1909 Peacock, G., Capt., R.A.S.C.
S 1907 †Peake, C., Lt., Leicestershire Yeomanry

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a Died at Malta, December 3, 1914.

S 1910*†Peake, C. G. W., Capt., 2nd Lincolnshire Regt.
G 1908 †Peake, H. A. W., Capt., 3rd attd. 2nd Essex Regt.
G 1912 †Peake, K. J. W., Lt., 6th Lincolnshire Regt.
L 1882**†Peake, M. (C.M.G., Legion of Honour), Brigadier-General, R.A.
S 1908**Peake, M. C. (M.C.), Capt., 2nd attd. 9th R. Lanc. Regt.
S 1902 Pearce, A. H. (D.F.C.), Capt., R.A.F.
L 1917 ‡Pearce, C. M., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
B 1903 Pearce, R. E. S., Lt., 2/7th Hampshire Regt.
L 1913 †Pearce, R. S., 2nd Lt., 6th attd. 2nd The Rifle Brigade
V 1905 †Pearce Gould, A. L. (M.D.), Surgeon, R.N., attd. R.M.L.I., R. Naval Division
W 1904 Pearce Gould, E. L. (M.D.), Surgeon, R.N.
S 1898 *p*Pearson, E. E., Major, 2nd Suffolk Regt.
H 1907 Pearson, H. G., Lt., W. Kent Yeo., attd. Guards M.G. Regt.
S 1900**‡Pearson, N. G. (D.S.O., M.C.), Lt.-Col., 6th South Wales Borderers, attd. 2nd Queen's Westminsters
S 1899 †Pearson, S. H., 2nd Lt., 2nd Grenadier Guards
S 1909 Pedley, J. W. D., 1st Air Mechanic, R.F.A.
R 1894 Peel, B. W., Capt., Remount Service
V 1901***†Peel, H. (D.S.O., M.C.), Capt., 1st Post Office Rifles
G 1906 Peet, L. M., Capt., 6th Jat L.I.
g 1908 Pegler, F. E., 2nd Lt., Sherwood Rangers
S 1907 ‡Pegram, J., Capt., 4th Cheshire Regt.
S 1887 *a*Peile, J. A. H., Capt., R.F.A.
P 1905*****‡‡‡Peirs, H. J. C. (C.M.G., D.S.O. with two Bars), Lt.-Col., 8th The Queen's
D 1900 †Pelham, Hon. H. L. (Legion of Honour), Lt. & Adjt., 2nd R. Sussex Regt.
W 1907****Pelly, E. G. (D.S.O., M.C.), Lt.-Col., R.A.S.C.
W 1913*†Pelly, H. R., Lt., 7th Essex Regt.
P 1912 *Pelly, K. R. (M.C.), Capt., R.A.S.C.
D 1893**‡Pemberton, E. G. (O.B.E., M.C.), Capt., Warwick Yeo.
H 1902 †Pemberton, P. Leigh, 2nd Lt., 6th Middlesex Regt.
g 1917 Penlington, T. N., 2nd Lt., 1st attd. 7th The Buffs
g 1894 Pennell, V. H., Capt., R.A.S.C.
g 1886 Pennyman, Rev. W. G., Chaplain, attd. Yorkshire Hussars
H 1911***Pepys, C. (D.S.O., M.C., Croce di Guerra), Major, 1st attd. 8th Devonshire Regt.
H 1909*†Pepys, F. (D.S.O.), 2nd Lt., 2nd Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
H 1908 †Pepys, J., 2nd Lt., 2nd K.O. Yorkshire L.I.
V 1900 ‡Percival, D. (Italian Bronze Medal for Military Valour), Major, R.G.A.
V 1889 Percival, J. H. (Order of the Nile), Lt.-Col., Gen. List
V 1898 Percival, N. S., Pte., R.A.S.C.
L 1878 Percy-Smith, R., Major, R.G.A.
g 1911 Perkin, A. L. D., Capt. R. Marines
g 1910 ‡Perkin, T. D., Capt., 1st King's Shropshire L.I.
V 1914 Perkins, C. H. (M.C.), Lt., Bucks. Yeo., attd. M.G.C.
B 1894 Perkins, M. T., Capt., R.A.S.C.
S 1911 Perrins, C. F. D., Capt., 2nd S. Midland Bde., R.F.A.
S 1901 Perry, I. G. B., Capt., 11th London Regt.
G 1902 Perry, W. (formerly I.C.S.), Capt., R.A.S.C.
B 1887 Peters, E. A. (M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
W 1913 Petley, D. R. M., Gunner, R.G.A.
D 1902 Pharo, A. C., Capt., R.A.S.C.

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a Died in Glasgow, March 6, 1918.

S 1885 *Phear, A. G. (C.B., M.D.), Col., A.M.S.
G 1904 †Phear, H. J., Lt., R.H.A.
W 1889 *Phelps, M. N. (T.D., Ordre de L'Etoile Noire), Capt., 6th R. Warwickshire Regt. ; Asst. Provost-Marshal
L 1908 *Philipson, M. R., Lt., R.F.A.
L 1904 †Philpot, J., 2nd Lt., R.E.
L 1888****Phipps, C. F. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R.G.A.
P 1903 Pierce, H., Sergt.-Major, 10th The Border Regt.
g 1904 Pierson, V. M., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
P 1910 †Piggot, A. A., Lt., 13th Northumberland Fusiliers
L 1907 ‡Pigott, H. R., Lt., attd. Bucks. Batt., Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
B 1895 Pike, L. R., Capt., R.A.M.C.
L 1908 *Pike, S. A. (M.C., Serbian Order of the White Eagle), Major, 7th R. Berkshire Regt.
V 1916 ‡Pilley, F. C., Lt., R.G.A.
D 1893 *Pipon, P. J. G. (C.I.E., M.C., I.C.S.), Capt. ; Staff
B 1911 ‡Pippet, B. C., Capt., R. Marines ; R. Naval Division
G 1916 Pittam, G. H., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
L 1908 †Pitts Tucker, C. M., Lt., 1st Highland L.I.
L 1905‡‡Pitts Tucker, G. S., Capt., 9th Cheshire Regt. & King's African Rifles
H 1913‡‡*p*Plews, J. C., Capt., 4th K. O. Yorkshire L.I.
S 1877 Plumer, T. H., Lt.-Col., Indian Army
S 1902 Podmore, G. C., Lt., R.G.A.
W 1910 Pole-Fletcher, H. F., Lt., 2nd attd. 5th Worcester Regt.
D 1915 Politzer, E. B., Sub-Lt., R.N.V.R
D 1912 Politzer, W. S., Lt., R.G.A., attd. R.E. (Signals)
S 1894**Pollock, H. H. (M.C.), Major, 5th London Bde., R.F.A.
L 1915 Pollock, J., Lt., North Irish Horse
G 1910 †Polson, G. W., Lt., 1st The Black Watch
D 1887 Pomeroy, Hon. R. L. (O.B.E.), Major, formerly 5th Dragoon Guards ; 4th Reserve Cavalry
S 1894*†Ponsonby, G. M., Capt., 2nd R. Inniskilling Fusiliers
S 1894 Ponsonby, H. W., Capt., Gloucestershire Hussars
P 1913 †Ponsonby, S. L., Lt., 12th Middlesex Regt.
L 1890 Pope, A. R., Major, 4th Bedfordshire Regt.
H 1909 *p*Pope, C., Capt., 1st Bedfordshire Regt.
L 1896 †Pope, C. A. W., Capt., R.A.M.C. ; H.M.S. *Transylvania*
L 1906 Pope, J. A., Lt., 11th 60th Rifles
g 1905 *Popham, H. F. A. Leybourne, Major, 6th Beds. Regt. ; Staff
R 1887***‡‡‡Porch, C. P. (D.S.O. with Bar), Lt.-Col., North. Fus.
B 1890 Porter, A. H., Sub-Lt., R.N.V.R.
W 1892 Porter, C. R., Capt., R.A.M.C.
P 1903 Porter, F. S., Pte., 5th East Yorkshire Regt.
P 1905**Porter, H. E. L. (M.C.), Capt., R.E. (Signals)
L 1893 Potter, J. R., Major, R.A.F.
S 1898 †Povah, F., Capt., 2nd The R. Scots
S 1900 *Povah, J. W., Major, R.F.A.
H 1917 Powell, A. G. P., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
S 1916 Powell, C. F. B., Sub-Lt., R.N.
S 1916 Powell, J. E. G., 2nd Lt., 9th Lancers
S 1903*†Powell, Scott, Capt., 8th R. Welsh Fusiliers
S 1903 Powell, T. F., Capt., 1st Coldstream Guards
B 1888 *Powell, T. P. P. (M.B.E.), Lt., Montgomeryshire Hussars
V 1905 *Power, A. G., Major, 3rd R. Munster Fus., attd. M.G.C.
S 1916 Power, G. S. O'N., Lt., R.E.
g 1897 *Powerscourt, M. R., Viscount (K.P., M.V.O., Belgian Croix de Guerre), Capt., Irish Guards ; Asst. P.-M.

V 1869 Poynder, G. F., Lt.-Col., R.A.M.C.
R 1906 Poyntz, J. M., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
D 1896 Poyser, C. L., Lt., R.G.A.
V 1908 Pratt, O. B., Major, R.A.M.C.
S 1901 ‡Pratt Barlow, R. F., Lt., 4th Coldstream Guards
H 1909 Preen, G., Capt., R.A.F.
S 1916 *Prescott, C. C., Lt., 2nd attd. 11th The Queen's
L 1902 Preston, Rev. A. L., Chaplain
D 1905 Preston, A. M., Capt., 4th Cheshire Regt.
D 1908 ‡Preston, E. C., Capt., 3rd R. Warwickshire Regt.
W 1907**** Preston, Sir E. H. (Bart., D.S.O., M.C.), Bt. Major, 2nd R. Sussex Regt.
D 1910 Preston, K. B., Lt., R.A.F.
B 1896 †Preston, P. C., Capt., 7th Norfolk Regt.
W 1907 †Preston, T. F., Lt., Norfolk Yeomanry, attd. R.F.C.
H 1898**** ‡‡‡Preston-Whyte, R. P. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 7th Somerset L.I.
V 1890 Pretyman-Newman, J. R. (M.P.), formerly R. Munster Fusiliers, Major, 17th Middlesex Regt.
B 1917 Price, C. W. H., Midshipman, R.N.V.R.
S 1900 †Price, H. S., 2nd Lt., 3rd R. Fusiliers
H 1891 Price-Davies, H. A. L., Capt., The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
V 1905 Pridham-Wippell, W., Lt., R.A.M.C.
B 1916 Priestley, J. O., Lt., R.A.F.
S 1877 Prinsep, D. G., Brigadier-General, R.A., Indian Army
L 1915* ‡Prioleau, C. P. J. J., Lt., Q.V.O. Corps of Guides
V 1910* ‡Prioleau, R. U. H. (M.C.), Lt.-Col., 12th The Rifle Brigade
H 1912 ‡Pritchard, E. A., 2nd Lt., Tank Corps
D 1887**** ‡Pritchard, H. L. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Hellenic Order of The Redeemer & Medal for Military Merit), Brigadier-General, R.E.
g 1913 Pritchard, J. M. (O.B.E.), Capt., 5th R. West Kent Regt.
L 1893 Proctor, C. G., Capt., R.E.
P 1912 Proctor, S. R., Capt., R.A.F. ; Ministry of Munitions
V 1898 ‡Proud, E. B., 2nd Lt., 3rd South Staffordshire Regt.
P 1910 †Proud, J. D. (M.C. with Bar), Major, R.A.M.C.
D 1886 Puckle, P. C., Lt., Remount Service
W 1898 *Pulleyne, P., Lt., R.A.S.C.
g 1892 Purves, A. G. (M.C.), Capt., 4th South Wales Borderers
H 1897 Puxon, E. F. M. (M.C.), Capt., Sherwood Rangers
P 1904 Pybus, H., Major, 1st Northumbrian Bde., R.F.A.
P 1907*a* ‡Pybus, H. R., Lt., 4th Durham L.I.
W 1912 ‡Pyke-Nott, J. B L., Capt., 5th Gloucestershire Regt.

G 1916 †Quayle, R. C., 2nd Lt., 4th Leicestershire Regt.
H 1909 Quick, J. T., Capt., 7th Devonshire Regt. & R.A.F.
D 1899 ‡Quin, A. F. R. D., Lt., R.F.A.

G 1882 Radcliffe, R. E. L., Maj. & Hon. Lt.-Col., R.F.A., R. of O.
G 1882 *Radcliffe, W. S. W. (Serbian Order of the White Eagle), formerly King's Shropshire L.I., Lt.-Col. ; A.Q.-M.-G.
P 1914 †Radcliffe, W. Y., 2nd Lt., 5th Wiltshire Regt.
L 1907 †Radford, B. H., Capt., R.F.C.
L 1901** †Radford, M. C. (D.S.O.), Capt., 1st R. Berkshire Regt.
G 1908 ‡‡Radford, R. L. (M.C.), Capt., R.F.A.

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a Killed while riding a motor bicycle near Seaham Harbour, July 24, 1916.

R 1901 Rae, A. C., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
B 1916 Rae, K. W. R., Lt., Indian Army
P 1915 ‡Raeburn, W. A. L., Lt., The Queen's & R.A.F.
S 1907 *Raikes, J. W. J., Lt.-Col., R.E.
S 1906 Raikes, W. O. (O.B.E.), Lt.-Col., 3rd The Buffs & R.A.F.; Civil Aviation Department
V 1911 Raimes, E. A., Lt., Staffordshire Yeomanry
V 1913 Raimes, G. H., Lt., Yorkshire Dragoons
g 1877 **Rainey-Robinson, R. M. (C.B., C.M.G.), formerly I.A., Col., 11th Worcestershire Regt.; Special Appointment
Bursar **Rainsford-Hannay, F. (C.B., C.M.G.), Col. & Hon. Brigadier-General, formerly R.E.; Commandant, School of Military Engineering, Chatham
V 1914 Ralli, C. M., Lt., R.G.A.
g 1884 Ralli, S. P., Capt.; Deputy Asst. Director of Labour
S 1916 Ralston, J. A., 2nd Lt., Highland L.I.
P 1901 Ramsbotham, Rev. E. F. S., Chaplain
P 1902 Ramsbotham, H. J., Pte., R.A.O.C.
P 1898 Ramsbotham, H. R., Capt., R.A.M.C.
V 1884 Ramsden-Tagore, A. H., Lt., R.N.V.R.
V 1910 Randall, G. F., Lt., 9th Hants. Regt. & R.A.F. (Admin.)
H 1882 ***Randolph, A. F. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), formerly Middlesex Regt., Major & Hon. Lt.-Col., attd. M.G.C.
L 1906 ‡Ransom, P. W., Capt., R.A.M.C., attd. Northumb. Fus.
D 1887 Raphael, F. C., Lt., London Electrical R.E.
S 1902 Rashleigh, H. P., Capt., Victoria Rifles & R.A.F. (Tech.)
H 1910 †Ratsey, S. G., Lt., 8th Hampshire Regt.
G 1907 Rattray, Rev. E. A. C., Chaplain
G 1908 *Rattray, R. C., Capt., R.E.
L 1911 Ravenscroft, G., Capt., 4th Lancashire Fusiliers
L 1914 ‡Ravenscroft, H., Capt., 4th Lancashire Fusiliers
B 1907 Ravenscroft, S. T., Capt., Lancs. Hussars & R.A.F.; Staff
D 1897 Rawcliffe, H. G., Pte., 17th R. Fusiliers
V 1899 *p*Rawdon, C. H., Major, 2nd K.O. Yorkshire L.I.
W 1907 ‡Rawlins, F. McC., Lt., 3rd attd. 2nd Gloucester Regt.
W 1905 †Rawlins, G. E. A., Capt. & Adjt., 9th R. Fusiliers
R 1911 Rayson, A. A., Lt., 6th Suffolk Regt.
R 1913 †Rebbeck, E. W. W., 2nd Lt., R.F.C.
S 1892 Reckitt, A., Capt., 4th East Yorkshire Regt.
V 1912 Ree, J., Capt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
S 1913 †Reed, H. G., Capt., 114th Mahrattas
W 1898 ****p*Rees, H. C. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), The Welsh Regt.; Brigadier-General
B 1908 Rees, R. V., Lt., 5th York & Lancaster Regt.
V 1908 Rees Mogg, E. F., Lt., R.A.S.C.
L 1912 †Reeve, C. d'A. E. W., Capt., Suffolk Regt. & R.F.C.
R 1904 **Reeves, P. J. (O.B.E.), Capt., R. Berkshire Regt.
H 1906 Reid, C. L., Lt., 2nd Reserve Cavalry
W 1914 †Reid, G. L., 2nd Lt., 7th Dragoon Guards
G 1905 †Reid, G. M., Lt., London Scottish
g 1897 †Reid, G. W., Capt. & Adjt., 2nd Hampshire Regt.
W 1914 ‡Reiss, P. Q., Lt., 3rd Lancashire Fusiliers, attd. R.A.F.
W 1914 Reiss, R. H. P., Capt., 4th Leinster Regt.
W 1916 Reiss, V., Lance-Sergt., The Artists' Rifles O.T.C.
S 1908 †Reiss, W. E., Capt., 6th Manchester Regt.
S 1902 Renshaw, Sir C. S. B. (Bart.), Capt., Ayrshire Yeomanry
g 1898 †Renton, W. G. F., Capt., 1st (King's) Dragoon Guards
V 1904 Reynolds, C. H., Capt., R.G.A.
P 1904 *p*Reynolds, T., Capt., 2nd K.O. Yorkshire L.I.

V 1904**‡Rhodes, B. F. (M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
G 1908 *Rhodes, C. K. (I.C.S.), Capt., I.A.R.O., attd. 123rd Outram's Rifles
V 1894 *Riall, C. P. B., Major, East Yorkshire Regt.
V 1896 ‡Riall, M. B. B. (O.B.E.), Major, 3rd attd. 1st W. Yorks. Regt.
V 1891***Richards, H. A. D. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Belgian Croix de Guerre), Lt.-Col., R.A.S.C.
H 1899 Richards, P. S., East African Field Force
P 1904 Richards, R. P. E., Lt., R.A.S.C.
P 1906 *Richardson, C. L., Capt., R.A.S.C.
S 1908 †Richardson, D. S., Lt., 3rd attd. 2nd The Border Regt.
V 1884 †Richardson, F. J. (D.S.O.), Major, Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders; D.A.D. Remounts, Eastern Command
S 1901**‡‡Richardson, G. C. (D.S.O. with Bar, M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
g 1895 †Richardson, J. S., 2nd Lt., 26th Northumberland Fus.
W 1900 †Richardson, J. W., Major, 4th York & Lancaster Regt.
g 1897****‡Richardson, M. E. (D.S.O., Legion of Honour), Lt.-Col., 20th Hussars
V 1908 Richter, F. J. P., Lance-Corporal, R.A.O.C.
D 1908 ‡Rickatson, H. C. (M.C.), Lt., 5th Coldstream Guards
V 1915 ‡Ricketts, C. H. (M.C.), Lt., 2nd South Staffordshire Regt.
g 1875 Ricketts, D. P. (Chinese Order of the Striped Tiger), Sergt., Tientsin Volunteers
L 1894 Riddett, A. E., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
H 1898 Ridge-Jones, A., Capt., 30th Middlesex Regt.
B 1905**‡Ridley, B. W. (D.S.O., M.C., Italian Silver Medal for Military Valour), Lt.-Col., 29th Durham L.I.
B 1905**‡Ridley, G. W. (O.B.E., Order of the Nile), Major, 4th R. Sussex Regt.
g 1884 *Ridley, W. P. N., Lt.-Col., 5th Essex Regt.
R 1910 ‡Rigby, C. V. (M.C.), Major, Duke of Wellington's Regt., attd. M.G.C.
S 1899 †Riley, O., Pte., 1st Lincolnshire Regt.
V 1915 Rimell, F. J., Capt., 7th (D.C.O.) Rajputs
H 1887 Rimmer, S. (T.D.), Lt.-Col., 3rd W. Lancs. Bde., R.F.A.
H 1902 *Ripley, H. E., Lt., R.A.S.C.
H 1902 Ripley, H. W. G., Capt., K. Shropshire L.I., attd. R.A.F. (Ad.)
W 1891 Rising, A. P., Lt., R. Defence Corps
W 1890*†Rising, R. E. (D.S.O.), Major, 1st Gloucestershire Regt.
H 1890 Ritchie, C. McI., Lt.-Col., R.F.A.
W 1914 †Ritchie, F. J. D., 2nd Lt., The Cameronians
W 1915 Ritchie, J. C. (M.C.), Capt., 1st The Black Watch
W 1914 Ritchie, K. L., 2nd Lt., Indian R.E. (Signals)
g 1896 Rivaz, E. P., Lt., R.A.S.C.
P 1887 Rix, W. J., Capt., General List
S 1895 †Roberts, F. J., Major, 6th The Queen's
S 1892*†Roberts, G. C., Lt.-Col., Gloucestershire Regt.
D 1910 †Roberts, J. R. B., 2nd Lt., 4th Northumberland Fusiliers
S 1913***Robertson, B. H. (D.S.O., M.C., Orders of the Crown of Rumania & Crown of Italy), Capt., R.E.
H 1911 Robertson, C. J. (M.C.), Capt., R.F.A.
d 1884 Robertson, C. L. (C.M.G.), Lt.-Col., R.E.
H 1901 Robertson, F. W. (I.C.S.), 2nd Lt., I.A.R.O.
W 1907 *Robertson, G. D., Capt., R.A.M.C., attd. R.F.A.
R 1915 Robertson, L. C., Lt., R.G.A., attd. R.E. (Signals)
G 1915 †Robertson, P., Lt., 1st Cameron Highlanders, attd. R.A.F.

P 1883*******Robertson, Sir P. R. (K.C.B., C.M.G., Belgian Order of Leopold with Palm, French & Belgian Croix de Guerre), Major-General, 17th Division
H 1905 †Robin, C. H., Capt. & Adjt., 2nd R. Jersey L.I., attd. York & Lancaster Regt.
H 1908 *Robin, G. J., Capt., R. Jersey Militia Artillery
d 1890 ‡Robins, C. H., Lt., 17th Durham L.I.
W 1895 Robinson, E. E., Pte., 3rd The Queen's
B 1917 *p*Robinson, J. C., Lt., R.A.F.
V 1895 *Robinson, R. M., Capt., 6th Duke of Wellington's Regt.
H 1915 Robson, R. G., Lt., R.A.F. (Admin.)
G 1894****†Rochfort-Boyd, H. C. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R.H.A.
V 1899 Rock, L. J., Lt., 3rd Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
R 1914*†Rodakowski, R. J. P., Capt., 2nd Irish Guards.
V 1898 *Rogers, C. W., Capt., 17th South Lancashire Regt.
g 1913 Rogers, J. A., Capt., Antrim R.G.A., attd. Rank Corps
L 1889 Rogers, S. H., Lt., R.A.S.C.
L 1906*†Rogers, W. F. (D.S.O.), Major, R.F.A.
P 1889***‡Rolls, N. T. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 6th The Queen's
S 1900***Romanes, J. G. P. (D.S.O. with Bar, Legion of Honour), Bt. Lt.,-Col., The R. Scots
P 1910 Romanis, D. G. (M.C.), Capt., R.G.A.
P 1908 Romanis, W. H. C., Lt., R.A.M.C.
B 1895*‡‡Romilly, B. H. S. (D.S.O., Order of the Nile), Bt. Lt.-Col., 1st Scots Guards
R 1914 Ronald, V. L., 2nd Lt., 1st Garr. Batt., Suffolk Regt.
L 1886 Rooke-Cowell, J., Capt., City of London Yeomanry
L 1913 †Rooper, W. V. T., Capt., Denbigh Yeomanry, attd. R.F.C.
g 1907****‡‡Rosher, J. B. (D.S.O. with Bar, M.C.), Lt.-Col., M.G.C.
S 1908 Roskill, W. G., P.S.B. R. Fusiliers & 2nd Lt., R.A.S.C.
g 1899 Ross, A. V., Capt., 17th The R. Scots
g 1894 *Ross, E. H. (O.B.E., Order of the Nile), Lt.-Col., Leicestershire Regt.
V 1908 ‡Roughead, F. A., Lt., 17th Lancers
L 1908 Routh, Rev. R. F. R., Chaplain
B 1897 Routley, G. S., Capt., 6th Manchester Regt., T.F. Res.
H 1899**Rowe, R. L. (M.C.), Capt., R.E.
B 1910‡‡Rowett, R. B. (M.C.), Capt., R.G.A.
D 1893 Rowland, H. M., Capt., North Somerset Yeomanry
B 1900 *Rowlandson, H. W. (O.B.E.), Major, 82nd Punjabis
B 1896 *Rowlandson, M. G. D. (D.S.O., Russian Orders of St. Vladimir and of St. Anne), Bt. Lt.-Col., 38th Dogras
L 1898*†Rowlandson, T. S. (M.C.), Capt., 4th Yorkshire Regt.
L 1905 Roxburgh, A. C., Surgeon Lt., R.N.
L 1907 *Roxburgh, J. F., Lt., General List, attd. R.E. (Signals)
L 1899 *Royston-Pigott, W. M. (D.S.O., Legion of Honour), Major, R.A.S.C.
g 1913‡‡Rucker, C. E. S. (M.C.), Lt., 10th The Rifle Brigade
g 1905 Rucker, J. H., Lt., Bedfordshire Yeomanry
g 1916 †Rucker, R. S., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
g 1902 Rudyerd, G. W., Lt., R.E.; Ministry of Munitions
S 1906 †Rundall, L. B., Lt., 1st Gurkhas
H 1887***Rundle, F. P. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), Col., R.E.; Chief Engineer
g 1905**Runge, C. H. S. (D.S.O., M.C. with Bar), Major, 12th Middlesex Regt. & General List; Staff
g 1909 †Runge, O. J. T. (M.C.), Lt., 15th Middlesex Regt., attd. M.G.C.

G 1908*†Rushton, F. H. L. (M.C.), Lt., 2nd R. Irish Regt.
H 1906 Rushworth, A. N., Surgeon, R.N.
S 1908 Russell, R. W., Capt., 9th Gurkhas
S 1875*†Russell, W., Col., R.E.; Chief Engineer, London District
L 1911 †Russell, W. E., Lt., R.F.A.
W 1906 Ruston, P. A. S., Lt., T.F. Reserve; Recruiting Officer
S 1912 ‡Rutter, H. F. P., Lt., 3rd Cheshire Regt. & R.G.A.
W 1896 Rutty, H. L., Capt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
g 1897***Ryder, C. F. (O.B.E., Order of the Nile), Lt.-Col., General Staff
g 1895 Ryder, G. W., Lt., R.A.S.C.
S 1915 Rygate, J. H. B., Lt., 6th Dragoon Guards, attd. R.A.F.
D 1914 Ryves, T. E., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.

g 1917 ‡Sachs, E. L. O., Lt., R.G.A.
G 1913‡‡Sadler, C. N., Lt., 5th Durham L.I.
g 1914 Sadler, P. H., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
H 1909 St. Amory, J. M. R. E., Capt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
L 1905 St. Johnston, A., Capt., R.A.M.C.
S 1909 St. Maur, R. W. M., Capt., 14th Hussars, attd. I.A.
L 1894 †Salmon, C. G., Capt., 3rd attd. 2nd The Cameronians
G 1889 Salmon, F. W., formerly 5th Dragoon Guards, Lt., R.E. (Signals)
G 1880 Salmon, W. H., Major & Hon. Lt.-Col., formerly 60th Rifles; British Red Cross
P 1901 Saltren-Willett, C. G., Lt., R.N.V.R.
G 1904 Salvesen, E. T., Major, Q.O. Royal Glasgow Yeomanry, attd. Tank Corps
D 1902 Samson, F. R. (O.B.E.), Major, R.A.F.
D 1904 †Samson, P. E., Lt., 5th The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
D 1900 Samson, W. L. (D.F.C.), Capt., R.A.F.
H 1910 Samuel, C. H., Capt., 12th Lancashire Fusiliers
S 1914 ‡Sandars, G. E. D., Capt., 1st R. Fusiliers
V 1905**‡‡Sandars, S. E. (D.S.O., M.C.), Lt.-Col., 6th R. Fusiliers, attd. 3rd London Regt.
W 1902***Sanderson, A. E. (D.S.O.), Bt. Major, Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
W 1907 †Sanderson, F. B., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
W 1911 †Sanderson, H. S., Lt., 8th The Black Watch
S 1869*†Sandwith, F. M. (C.M.G., M.D.), Col., Army Med. Service
g 1881 Sandys-Lumsdaine, F. M., Lt.-Col., form. H.L.I.; Staff
G 1904*‡Sartorius, G., Major, 6th Indian Cavalry, attd. M.G.C.
W 1891***Saunders, C. G. (D.S.O.), Major, Canadian A.V.C.
G 1886 *Saunders, G. F. C. (D.S.O.), Major, Depot, Bedford Regt
D 1911 Saunders, J. E. S., Lt., 3rd Wiltshire Regt.
H 1896***Scarlett, J. A. (D.S.O.), Bt. Lt.-Col., R.F.A.
W 1896***‡Sceales, G. A. McL. (D.S.O.), Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders; Brigadier-General
G 1908 †Schill, E. M., Lt., 15th Lancashire Fusiliers
D 1911 ‡Scholefield, L. C., Lt., Northants., attd. Suffolk Regt.
G 1901 †Schuster, A. F., Lt., 4th (Q.O.) Hussars
G 1897 Schuster, E. H. J. (D.Sc.), Lt., R.G.A.
G 1899***Schuster, G. E. (M.C.), Capt., Oxfordshire Hussars
g 1906 Schwartze, H. E., Capt., Durham L.I.; Courts-Martial Off.
H 1914 †Scott, B., Lt., 1st Civil Service Rifles
H 1890*‡Scott, C. B. (D.S.O.), Capt., 3rd Duke of Cornwall's L.I.
H 1891*******‡Scott, C. W. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour, Belgian Order of Leopold & Croix de Guerre), Brigadier-General, R.A.
H 1901 Scott, C. W. H., Lt., R.A.S.C.

G 1916 Scott, D. F., Lt., Guards M.G. Regt.
H 1901 Scott, E. P., Lt., R.G.A.
V 1900 †Scott, G. H. H., Capt., 7th The Queen's
D 1902 *Scott, M. A. H. (M.C. with Bar), Capt., R.E.
G 1910 †Scott, M. D. Guest (M.C.), Capt., 3rd Loyal North Lancashire Regt. & R.F.C.
V 1900 Scott, M. R. C., Lt., R.N.V.R.
G 1896 Scott, P. S., Lt., R.E.
B 1912 Scott, R., Lt., 17th Highland L.I.
G 1912** Scott, W., Capt., R.A.S.C.
G 1895 Scott, W. G., Capt., R.A.M.C., attd. R.F.A.
S 1914 †Scott Miller, W. D., 2nd Lt., R. Fusiliers, attd. R.F.C.
V 1913 ‡Scriven, G. H., Major, 6th attd. 20th Middlesex Regt.
W 1906 ‡Scrutton, Rev. T. B., Chaplain, attd. R. Warwick Regt.
H 1900 *Searight, A. K., Capt., 2nd R. West Kent Regt.
G 1891** Searight, H. F. (D.S.O.), Major, formerly 1st (King's) Dragoon Guards ; Staff
P 1892 Searle, G. J., Hon. Capt., R.A.M.C., Wounded and Missing Department, Rouen
H 1879 Seckham, B. T. (D.S.O.), Major, 4th S. Staffordshire Regt.
H 1909** ‡Seckham, L. B. L. (M.C. with Bar), Bt. Major, 2nd attd. 2/7th Lancashire Fusiliers
g 1898 Secretan, S. D., A.B., Trawler Section, R.N.R.
G 1914 Seed, J. A. T., Lt., 110th Mahratta L.I.
P 1901 Segar, E., Major, 40th Pathans
L 1913 ‡Seldon, A. (M.C.), Capt., 1st Gloucestershire Regt.
L 1907 Seldon, A. A., Capt., 3rd King's African Rifles
L 1896 Seligman, E. M., Lt., R.F.A.
L 1915 Seligman, V. J., Lt., R.A.S.C.
W 1903 Seth Smith, D. F. (M.C.), Lt., 2nd King's African Rifles
H 1915 Seth Smith, E. G., Lt., 4th East Surrey Regt., attd. R.A.F. (Tech.)
B 1915‡‡ Seth Smith, K. A., Lt., 3rd Northumb. Fus., attd. R.A.F.
D 1898 Seth Smith, M. P., Capt., K. African Rifles ; Intelligence
S 1915 †Sewell, F. B., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
S 1891** ‡Seymour, C. H. N. (D.S.O.), Major, 60th Rifles
P 1904 Seymour, E. V. F., Capt., 9th (Hodson's) Horse
S 1896****** Seymour, W. W. (Legion of Honour), 1st The Rifle Brigade ; Brigadier-General
P 1907 Seymour Eaton, H., Lt., R.A.F.
S 1910 Shannessy, F. W., Lt., 6th R. Warwichshire Regt.
L 1901 Sharp, B. E., Major, 19th Durham L.I.
L 1901 †Sharp, C. G., 2nd Lt., 4th Northumberland Fusiliers
L 1900 Sharp, R. R. (D.S.O., M.C., Croix de Guerre), Major, R.F.A.
P 1913 ‡Sharpin, E. A., Capt., 1st R. West Kent Regt., attd. R.E. (Signals)
S 1911 *Shaw, A. D. McI. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 1st R. Scots Fus.
g 1899*‡‡ Shaw, G. D. A. (D.S.O.), Major, R.F.A.
g 1902 Shaw, H. A. (M.C.), Major, R.G.A.
g 1914 *p* Shaw, J. P. (M.C.), Lt., 6th King's Shropshire L.I.
V 1889 Shaw, Rev. N. F., Pte., R.A.M.C.
g 1911 †Shaw, P. H., 2nd Lt., 8th The Black Watch
g 1897 †Shaw, R. A., Major, R.F.A.
V 1901‡‡‡ *p* Shaw, S. S., Pte., 5th The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
H 1916 Shaw-Mackenzie, C. J., 2nd Lt., 1st Seaforth Highrs.
L 1897 Sheaf, E. W., Capt., R.A.M.C.
P 1901 Shebbeare, E. O., 2nd Lt., I.A.R.O.
V 1894 Shebbeare, H. V., Lt., R.G.A., attd. Labour Corps

V 1895‡*p*Shebbeare, F. W., Lt., M.G.C. (Motor)
V 1912 Shelton, R. C. M., Lt., 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons
S 1907 Shepherd, F. McA., Capt., Surrey Yeomanry
V 1914‡‡‡Shepherd, J. C. (M.C.), Lt., R.F.A.
S 1908*‡Shepherd, W. S., Lt., I.A.R.O., attd. 9th (Hodson's) Horse
G 1896*†Sheppard, C. W., Lt., R.E.
D 1886 Sheppard, G. A., Lt., Hertfordshire Yeomanry
G 1909‡‡Sheppard, G. A., Capt., 2nd Worcestershire Regt.
G 1907**Sheppard, J. H. D., Major, R.A.O.C.
V 1913 ‡Shilcock, G. W., Lt., R.F.A.
B 1895 Shirreff, C. R., Capt., 3th attd. 12th Durham L.I.
G 1879***Short, A. H. (C.B., C.M.G.), Brigadier-General, R.A.
H 1910 †Shortt, W. E. D., Lt.,& Adjt., 1st Scots Guards
g 1907 *p*Shrager, A. L., Capt., I.A.R.O., attd. 128th Pioneers
W 1876 Sibley, Rev. Canon A. D. F., Chaplain
P 1911 Sidebotham, F. N., Capt., R.A.M.C.
P 1909 †Sidebotham, J. N. W., Capt., 17th Manchester Regt.
P 1913 ‡Sidebotham, J. O., Capt., 1st Cheshire Regt.
P 1908 ‡Sidebotham, R. E. L., Lt., 3rd Duke of Cornwall's L.I., attd. M.G.C.
G 1906 †Sillem, A. C. H., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
G 1907 Sillem, B. S., Sub-Lt., R.N.V.R.
G 1907 Sillem, H. N., Lt., 18th Hussars ; Interpreter
L 1910 †Sillem, T. G. (M.C.), Lt., 9th The Welsh Regt.
D 1916 Simon, H., Lt., R.F.A.
L 1911 *Simon, O. J., Lt., Army Cyclist Corps
R 1916‡‡Simon, P. F. H., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
W 1909 †Simpson, C. W., Lt., 7th Leicestershire Regt.
W 1897 Simpson, G., Lt., R N.V.R.
g 1917 Simpson, G. A., Driver, R.F.A.
H 1912 Simpson, G. G. T., Y.M.C.A. (Motor Transport)
G 1897 Simpson, G. H., Pte., Cambridgeshire Regt.
H 1892***Simpson, L. S. (C.B.E., D.S.O.), Col., R.E.
H 1914 Simpson, R. M., Lt., K.O. Yorkshire L.I., attd. R.E.
G 1897 Simpson, W. H., 2nd Lt., Cornwall R.G.A.
D 1891**Sinclair Thomson, G. A. L., Bt. Lt.-Col., 2nd Suffolk Regt., attd. 5th Norfolk Regt.
G 1913 Singleton, E. J. F., Lt., R.A.S.C., attd. R.G.A.
H 1910 Skeate, W. A., Capt., 2nd W. Yorkshire Regt. & R.A.F.
G 1899 †Skeffington, H. N. S., 2nd Lt., R.F.C.
R 1916 ‡Skelton, J. E. L., Lt., R.A.F.
W 1914 *Skinner, A. E. L. (M.C.), Capt., Norfolk Yeo. & R.A.F.
W 1917 ‡Skinner, C. D., Capt., R.A.F.
W 1911 †Skinner, D. H., Capt., 7th R. West Kent Regt.
g 1886******Skinner, P. C. B. (C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour, Belgian Order of the Crown & Croix de Guerre), Major-General, 14th Division
G 1917 Skinner, T. G., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
g 1878***Skirrow, A. G. W. (D.S.O.), Major, formerly South Lancashire Regt. ; Staff
D 1884**‡‡Sladen, D. R. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), K.O.S.B. ; Brig.-Gen.
L 1906 Slater, C. E., Capt., 4th R. Warwickshire Regt.
L 1908 ‡Slater, R. H., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
V 1910*†Slingsby, H. L. (M.C.), 2nd K.O. Yorkshire L.I. ; Capt. & Adjt., 2nd Duke of Cornwall's L.I.
B 1903 Slingsby, W. E., Capt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
S 1902**†Sloper, G. O. (M.C.), Capt., 2nd attd. 1st Northumb. Fus.
D 1912‡‡‡Smale, G. F. P., Lt., 11th Lancashire Fusiliers
S 1914 ‡Smart, C. V. M., Lt., 1st Dorsetshire Regt.

B 1908 †Smith, A. A., Lt., 5th South Staffordshire Regt.
S 1896 Smith, A. K., Lt., I.A.R.O. (Cavalry)
G 1898 Smith, A. S. D., 2nd Lt., I.A.R.O.
P 1899 Smith, G. K., Lt., Yorkshire Dragoons
P 1901‡*p*Smith, G. M., Capt., 1st East Lancashire Regt.
H 1906*‡Smith, H. F. E. (D.S.O., Legion of Honour), Lt.-Col., 5th 60th Rifles.
W 1890 †Smith, Herbert G. (M.C., Croce di Guerra), Capt., R.A.S.C.
H 1907 ‡Smith, H. H. M. (M.C.), Capt., 4th Loyal N. Lancs. Regt.
P 1893***Smith, L. K. (D.S.O., Order of the Nile), Bt. Lt.-Col., The R. Scots, attd. Egyptian Army
g 1912 †Smith, L L. de B., Lt., 6th The Rifle Brigade
S 1910 Smith, L. Raynar, Lt., 2nd R. Inniskilling Fusiliers
H 1914 †Smith, L. T., 2nd Lt., 11th K.O. Yorkshire L.I.
W 1916 ‡Smith, P. (M.C.), 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
P 1893 Smith, P. G. (T.D.), Major, Yorkshire Dragoons
S 1908 †Smith, Sergius H., 2nd Lt., 4th attd. 2nd South Staffs. Regt.
B 1911 Smith, T. S., Capt., 5th South Staffordshire Regt.
D 1915 Smith, W., Lt., R.G.A.
G 1907 Smith, W. A. N., Lt., Hants. Fortress R.E.
P 1887 *Smith, W. McK. (D.S.O., T.D.), Lt.-Col., Yorks. Dragoons
R 1911 Smith, W. R. (M.C. with Bar, French & Belgian Croix de Guerre), Major, R.F.A.
H 1908 Smith-Carington, Rev. A. E. C., Chaplain
G 1903 Smither, B., Lt., R.F.A.
L 1902***Smithers, H. (O.B.E.), Capt., 4th R. West Kent Regt.
L 1911 Smithers, K. O., Lt., 5th R. West Kent Regt.
L 1901 Smithers, L., Lt., R.N.V.R.
L 1904 Smithers, N. (M.C.), Capt., 4th R. West Kent Regt.
L 1897***Smithers, W. (Hellenic Order of The Redeemer), Capt., Remount Service
P 1890*****Smyth, R. R. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., Leinster Regt. ; Staff
H 1911 ‡Smyth, W. H. G., Capt., 5th Lincolnshire Regt.
L 1906 Smyth-Richards, F. G., Capt., 6th Devonshire Regt.
S 1907 *Smythe, P. C. (O.B.E.), Capt., 6th The Black Watch ; Supervisor of Physical Training
L 1903***‡Snell, I. E. (M.C.), Bt. Major, The Black Watch ; Staff
R 1911 *Snell, J. B., Lt., R.E.
G 1913 Snelling, A. G., 2nd Lt., 1st Grenadier Guards
G 1913*‡‡Snelling, C. G., Capt., 104th (Wellesley's Rifles), I.A.
L 1898‡‡Snowden, K. J. (M.C. with Bar), Major, R.F.A.
g 1895*†Soames, G. H., Major, West Yorkshire Regt.
P 1905*‡Somers, A. H. T., Lord (D.S.O., M.C., Legion of Honour), Lt.-Col., 1st Life Guards, attd. 6th Tank Corps
S 1882 Somers Cocks, A. P., Sergt., 178th Canadian Buffs
L 1914 Somerset, E. T., Lt., 3rd Scots Guards
H 1899 Somers Lewis, R. H., Pte., East Yorkshire Regt.
G 1904 ‡Sorby, T. G., Capt., 4th York & Lancaster Regt.
G 1877 South, H. E., Surgeon-Commander, R.N., retired ; Lt.-Col., R.A.F. (Medical)
P 1916 South, J. M., Lt., 6th The Rifle Brigade
D 1915 Southall, T. F., Lt., 4th Norfolk Regt., attd. R.A.F.
L 1911 †Southern, E. B., Pte., P.S.B., R. Fusiliers
H 1897 Southey, C. B., 2nd Lt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
S 1878**Southwell, Ven. H. K. (C.M.G.), Asst. Chaplain-General
L 1915 ‡Spafford, K. E. A., Lt., 1st Lancashire Fusiliers
G 1902 Spalding, S. L., Lt., R.G.A.

H 1913 †Sparks, J. E., Lt., 1st R. Fusiliers
g 1910 Sparrow, A. C. G., Lt., 1st Res. Cav., attd. 16th Lancers
g 1908 ‡Sparrow, R. W. (M.C.), Capt., 20th Hussars
g 1905 Sparrow, W. G. K., Capt., Cheshire Yeomanry
B 1896 †Spencer, C. J., Capt., 2nd Devonshire Regt.
G 1901 ‡Spencer, F. A., Lt.-Col., 1st Wilts. Regt., attd. M.G.C.
G 1899 †Spencer, H. B., Capt., W. Somerset Yeo., attd. Tank Corps
B 1900**Spencer, R. (M.C., Legion of Honour), Major, Denbigh Yeomanry, attd. Tank Corps
G 1911 Spencer, R. P., Lt., 12th Lancers
V 1901 ‡Spencer-Phillips, P. T., Capt., R.F.A. & R.A.M.C.
P 1917 Speyer, H. R. C., Pte., R.A.O.C.
H 1916 Spooner, E. G., Lt., R.A.F.
g 1903 *Spranger, J. A., Capt., General List
L 1882 †Spring-Rice, G., Lt., 11th The Border Regt.
W 1897 *Sprules, R. G. W., Major, R.A.O.C.
P 1905 †Squires, R. D., Capt., 9th Sherwood Foresters
B 1913 †Stacey, C. N., Lt., 7th Middlesex Regt.
L 1898 *Stagg, F. N., Commander, R.N.
G 1891***Stanbrough, L. K. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R.G.A.
B 1904 †Standring, B. A., Lt., 2nd R. Warwickshire Regt.
G 1918 Standring, I. W., 2nd Lt., R.E.
S 1912‡*p*Stanier, F. A. H., Lt., Shropshire Yeomanry, attd. King's Shropshire L.I.
R 1912 ‡Staniforth, J. H. M., Capt., 7th Leinster Regt.
R 1912 Staniforth, J. R., Lt., 4th R. West Kent Regt.
V 1893**‡Stanley, F. E. C. (D.S.O., T.D.), Major, 4th E. Anglian Bde., R.F.A.
S 1911 ‡Stansfeld, H. W., Lt., 1st Wessex Bde., R.F.A.
L 1897 ‡Stapylton, A. M., Signaller, Australian Contingent
S 1900 †Staveley, G. H., Capt., 1st K.O. Yorkshire L.I.
G 1876 *Stavert, T. H., formerly Leinster Regt., Brigadier-General
V 1912**‡Steel, F. (O.B.E.), Essex Regt. ; Major, R.A.F.(Admin.)
G 1913 Steel, G., Capt., King's African Rifles
W 1910 †Steel, J. C., Lt., 1st Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders
V 1909 *Steel, J. V. (O.B.E.), Major, R.A. & R.A.F.
H 1895 ‡Steele, A. R., Major, 4th (Q.O.) Hussars
H 1899 *Steele, C., Bt. Major, 13th Hussars
V 1886 *Steele, H. S. (O.B.E.), Major, 12th Worcestershire Regt. & General List ; D.A.D., Railway Transport
W 1905 Steer, Rev. E. A., Chaplain, H.M.S. *Vindictive*
W 1910 Steer, W., Lt., R.A.F.
B 1888 *Stephenson, W. R., Capt., 2nd Post Office Rifles
W 1916 Stericker, C. W., Lt., 1st Duke of Cornwall's L.I.
B 1918 Stern, A. M., 2nd Lt., 5th Grenadier Guards
D 1914 Stern, G. H. F., Trooper, Lovat's Scouts
B 1908 †Sternberg, E. A. J., 2nd Lt., 1st R. Lancaster Regt.
g 1911 †Sternberg, R. O., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
g 1897 Sterry, F. M., Lt., R.F.A.
D 1912 ‡Stevens, C. G. B., Lt., The Rifle Brigade
B 1911 ‡Stevens, C. J. Duff, 2nd Lt., 7th Somerset L.I.
L 1877 Stevens, R. C., Trooper, 34th (Fort Garry) Horse
P 1899‡*p*Stevenson, C. D. S., Lt., 7th R. West Kent Regt.
B 1902**Stevenson Reece, G. M., Capt., R. Scots Greys; Asst. P.-M.
G 1883 Steward, H. A. H., Capt., Post Office Rifles; Press Officer
L 1884 †Stewart, C. E., Lt.-Col., R.F.A.
W 1886**†Stewart, C. E. (C.M.G.), The Black Watch ; Brig.-Gen.
P 1909 Stewart, E. S. M., Lt., R.A.S.C.
D 1886 Stewart, L. C., R.N.V.R. ; Anti-Aircraft Corps

S 1892***‡Stewart, W. M. (C.M.G., D.S.O.), Bt. Lt.-Col., Cameron Highlanders ; Staff
H 1902 Stewart-Brown, J. P., Capt., 11th R. Fusiliers
P 1898*‡Still, F. C., Lt., R.G.A.
H 1896 Stogdon, R. H. A., 2nd Lt., 1st Garr. Batt., Worcester Regt.
W 1917 Stokes, C. W., Lt., 6th The Rifle Brigade
B 1907 †Stokes, R. A., Lt., 9th K.O. Yorkshire L.I.
W 1914 Stokes, T. A., Lt., 5th R. West Kent Regt.
W 1901 Stone, E. R., Capt., R.A.M.C.
W 1905 Storey, K. L., Capt., 20th Hussars
S 1900**Storrs, R. H. A. (C.M.G., C.B.E., Order of the Crown of Italy, Hellenic Order of The Redeemer, Knight of St. John), Brigadier-General ; Governor of Jerusalem
W 1906 Story, A. E. S., Lt., R.A.F.
R 1913 Strachan, D. A., Gunner, H.A.C.
R 1914 ‡Strachan, J. H. (M.C.), Lt., K.O. Scottish Borderers
S 1904 *Stranack, H. R., Capt., 29th Punjabis
g 1900 *Strange, A. P., Major, 3rd R. Berkshire Regt., attd. M.G.C. (Motor)
g 1901 *Strange, F. G. (D.S.O.), Major, 1st Berks. Yeo., attd. M.G.C.
W 1909 ‡Strange, H. St. J. B., Lt., 5th North Staffordshire Regt.
R 1910 ‡Strange, J. A., Lt., R. Scots Fusiliers
g 1904*‡*p*Strange, J. S. (D.S.O., M.C.), Capt., 14th The Welsh Regt.
S 1886 *Streatfeild, H. S., Major, R.F.A.
g 1906 Streatfeild, N., Capt., I.A.R.O., attd. 44th Cavalry
G 1889 Street, H., Capt., formerly 20th Hussars ; Staff
G 1912 Street, M. E., Lt., R.F.A.
G 1903 ‡Strickland, A. F. (M.C.), Capt., R.G.A.
B 1906 Stride, Rev. W. F. A., Chaplain
V 1885 Stringer, H. W., Pte., 2nd Sportsman's Batt., R. Fusiliers
V 1891 †Stringer, F. W., Lt.-Col., R.A.S.C. ; War Office
G 1916‡*p*Struben, H. M., Lt., R.A.F.
W 1915 †Strudwick, J. M. K., 2nd Lt., 2nd attd. 6th The Queen's
P 1908 Stuart, A., Viscount (M.C.), Major, M.G.C.
W 1886 Stuart, L. (C.I.E., I.C.S.), Lt.-Col., Indian Defence Force
W 1906 Stuart, P. P. (I.C.S.), Capt., 25th Cavalry, F.F.
P 1902*†Stuart, Hon. R. S., Capt., 1st R. Scots Fusiliers
S 1909 *Stuart-MacLaren, A.S.C. (O.B.E., M.C. with Bar, A.F.C.), Major, 3rd K.O. Scottish Borderers & R.A.F.
S 1894 Stubbs, Rev. W. T., Chaplain
L 1909 Studd, V. M., Lt., 5th The Rifle Brigade
G 1916 *p*Sturgess, T. M., Lt., R.A.F.
B 1889 Sturrock, G. C., Lt.-Col., R.G.A. ; Indian Ordnance Dept.
B 1899**Sturrock, W. D. (D.S.O., M.D.), Lt.-Col., R.A.M.C.
G 1905 Sturt, G. L., Capt., The Rifle Brigade
H 1897******Sullivan, G. A. (D.S.O., Belgian Order of Leopold & Croix de Guerre), Bt. Lt.-Col., Oxf. & Bucks. L.I. ; Provost-Marshal
S 1905 Sundius Smith, B. K., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
H 1915 Sutton-Pratt, R., Lt., R.F.A., attd. R.E. (Signals)
P 1900 Swaine, W. H. P., Major, 15th The Rifle Brigade
D 1884**Swainson, F. C. J., Capt., R.A.S.C.
P 1906 *Swan, C. F. T. (M.C.), Bt. Major, 3rd The Rifle Brigade
B 1889 Swann, C. J. H., Lt.-Col., R.F.A.
B 1908 *p*Swayne, J. G. des R., Capt., Somerset L.I., attd. R.E. (Sig.)
g 1915 Swinscow, W. A. K., Lt., Gloucestershire Regt.
B 1916 *p*Sykes, J. A., Lt., R.F.A.

H 1908**Sykes, R. C., Major, R.A.S.C.
V 1898**Sykes, S. S. (M.C.), Major, 8th Leeds Rifles
D 1916 ‡Symmons, P. A. (M.C.), Lt., Tank Corps
R 1914 ‡Symonds, S. L. (M.C.), Capt., 7th Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
V 1908 Sympson, T. M., Lt., Yorkshire (E. Riding) Yeomanry
B 1910 Synge, W. A. T., Capt., 1st The King's (Liverpool Regt.)

g 1917 Talbot Rice, M. G., 2nd Lt., 5th Coldstream Guards
L 1910‡‡Tallerman, K. H. (M.C.), Lt., R.F.A.
g 1910 ‡Tanner, L. E., Capt., 4th Gloucestershire Regt.
H 1910 †Tate, A. C. R., Lt., R.A.F.
V 1898 *Tate, A. L., Major, formerly 16th Lancers; Remount Superintendent
g 1905 ‡Tate, E. D., Lt., 5th Grenadier Guards
B 1901 †Tatham, B. O., Capt., 3rd attd. 2nd East Yorkshire Regt.
H 1910 †Taunton, O. H. (M.C.), Lt., R.E.
W 1900 Taylor, A. L., Capt., 6th Norfolk Regt.
g 1882**†Taylor, C. S., Lt.-Col., R.G.A.
V 1912*†Taylor, D. P. B. (M.C.), Lt., 3rd Hussars & R.F.C.
L 1908 *Taylor, G. F. (M.B.E.), Capt., 4th R. Lancaster Regt.
V 1893 Taylor, G. T., 2nd Lt., The Queen's
H 1915 †Taylor, H. A. (M.C.), Capt., 1st R. W. Kent Regt. & R.F.C.
H 1911 †Taylor, H. C. N., Capt., 20th London Regt.
L 1903 Taylor, H. D., Capt., 66th Punjabis
P 1900 Taylor, J. F. G., 2nd Lt., The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
W 1901 †Taylor, L. E., Capt., Madras Volunteer Corps
L 1904 †Taylor, R. B., Capt., 1st The Border Regt.
L 1903 ‡Taylor, Rev. S., Chaplain, attd. Essex Regt.
G 1913 †Teale, G. N., Capt., R.F.C.
R 1914 Tearoe, A. T., Lt., 1st Surrey Rifles & Indian Army
H 1893 Temple, J. H. (O.B.E.), Hon, Commander, R.N.V.R.
L 1883 *Templer, W. F. (C.B.E.), Lt.-Col., A.P.D., South Africa
g 1901 †Tennant, C. G., 2nd Lt., 4th Seaforth Highlanders
D 1896 †Tennant, W. G., Lt., Lord Strathcona's Horse
S 1877 Tennyson-d'Eyncourt, A. L., Major, 6th R. Berks. Regt.
L 1901 †Terry, H. M., 2nd Lt., R.E.
L 1886**†Terry, R. J. A. (M.V.O., D.S.O.), Major, R. Sussex Regt.; Brigade Major, 2nd Brigade
D 1910 ‡Tetley, E. W. (M.C. with Bar), Capt., South Lancashire Regt., attd. 8th 60th Rifles
D 1903 †Tetley, J. C. D., Capt., 4th Grenadier Guards
P 1898*****‡‡Thackeray, F. S. (D.S.O., M.C.), Highland L.I.; Brigadier-General
R 1916 Tharp, H. W., Lt., R.G.A.
W 1898 Thew, A. H., 2nd Lt., Labour Corps
g 1885**†Thicknesse, J. A., Lt.-Col., Somerset L.I.
G 1890 Thomas, E. A., Capt., S. Wales Borderers
H 1918 Thomas, F. B. A., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
H 1917 Thomas, K. P. D., 2nd Lt., R.E.
g 1908 *Thomas, N., Capt., R.A.S.C.
D 1916 Thomas, T. M., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
H 1911 Thomas, W., Lt., 3rd Duke of Cornwall's L.I.
W 1881 Thompson, C. P. (C.B.E.), Lt.-Col., Indian Army
S 1915 †Thompson, C. W., 2nd Lt., Lancashire Fusiliers & M.G.C.
W 1904 Thompson, D. L. M., Capt., R.A.S.C.
R 1903 ‡Thompson, E. K. Wentworth, Lt., R.F.A.
B 1917 Thompson, G., 2nd Lt., 3rd Grenadier Guards
g 1896 Thompson, G. L., Major, Northumberland Fusiliers
S 1906 Thompson, H., Lt., Capt., R.A.F. (Admin.)

Master †Thompson, H. F., Capt., 9th attd. 12th The Rifle Brigade
P 1902 Thompson, N. F., Petty Officer, Indian Defence Force
G 1902 *Thompson, P. T. L., Capt., 79th Carnatic Infantry
D 1896 Thompson, R., Lt., The Rifle Brigade
R 1908 Thompson, R. S., Red Cross Driver & R.A.F. Cadet
R 1908 Thompson, S. G. (M.C.), Capt., West Kent Yeomanry, attd. R. West Kent Regt.
Master ***‡Thomson, J. C. (M.C.), Major, R.G.A.
S 1905 Thomson, J. D., Lt., Migeria Regt. (Transport)
P 1907 *Thomson, J. S. (I.C.S.), Capt., 25th Cavalry, F.F.
H 1903 †Thomson, S. P. D., Lt., Leicestershire Yeomanry
P 1907 ‡Thomson, W. A., Lt., R.F.A.
B 1900 ‡Thorburr, A. D., Capt., R.F.A.
P 1916 Thorburn, P., Midshipman, R.N.V.R.
P 1912 †Thorman, A. M., 2nd Lt., 2nd London Regt.
P 1911 ‡Thorman, J. L., Lt., R.E.
g 1915 ‡Thorn, Drury J. G., Lt., The Buffs
G 1902**†Thornton, N. S. (D.S.O., M.C.), Major, 7th The Rifle Brigade
G 1914*‡‡Thorp, G. L. (M.C.), Lt., Gen. List, attd. R.E. (Signals)
W 1915 †Thorp, T. T., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
S 1884 †Thynne, A. C. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R. North Devon Yeo.
S 1888 Thynne, G. A. C., Capt., R. North Devon Yeomanry
S 1889 *Thynne, U. O. (C.M.G., D.S.O., T.D.), Lt.-Col., R. Wiltshire Yeomanry
B 1885 Tidd, M. W., Lt., R.G.A.
H 1900 Tilleard, M. F., Capt., R.A.S.C.
V 1911*†Tillie, C. G., Capt., 1st R. Inniskilling Fusiliers
B 1913 ‡Tillie, T. L., Capt., 8th The Cameronians, attd. R.A.F.; Staff
V 1906******‡Tillie, W. K. (D.S.O., M.C.), Lt.-Col., 42nd M.G.C.
B 1911‡‡‡Tiltman, J. H. (M.C.), Capt., 9th K.O. Scottish Borderers
W 1892‡*p*Timmis, A. W., Major, 2nd Wiltshire Regt.
W 1903***Timmis, F. W. (Belgian Croix de Guerre), Bt. Major, R.G.A.
W 1888 Timmis, J. V., Capt., formerly Lancs. Fus.; Adjt., Depôt
W 1899**‡‡Timmis, R. B., Major, R.G.A.
W 1903*‡‡Timmis, R. S. (D.S.O.), Major, R Canadian Dragoons
g 1885 Timmis, T. S., Major, 3rd South Staffordshire Regt.
W 1894 ‡Timmis, W. U., 2nd Lt., 1st Grenadier Guards
L 1907*‡Tinley, F. B. N. (M.C. with Bar), Capt., 20th Deccan Horse
P 1916 Tinley, G., Lt., Northamptonshire R.G.A.
d 1895 Titmas, J. St. A., Major, R.A.M.C.
D 1905 Todd, J. H., 2nd Lt., R. Lancaster Regt.
V 1883 Toler, J. H., Lt., R. Defence Corps
L 1909 †Toller, R. A., Lt., 2nd The Welsh Regt., attd. R.A.F.
G 1896‡*p*Tomlinson, F. W., Major, 1st The Buffs
G 1899*†Tomlinson, H. (M.C.), Capt., R.F.C.
V 1899 †Tompson, A. H., 2nd Lt., 4th Grenadier Guards
H 1914‡‡Torr, C. J. W., Lt., R.F.A.
H 1898 Torrens, H. P., Major, East Surrey Regt.
W 1905 Torrens, R. G., Lt., 124th Baluchistan Infantry
V 1908 †Torry, J. S. A., 2nd Lt., 12th The Rifle Brigade
L 1910*‡‡Towers, L. C., Capt., R.G.A.
G 1893**Town, W. N., Major, 10th Duke of Wellington's Regt.
R 1917 Townsend, R., Rifleman, London Rifle Brigade
g 1884***Towse, H. B., formerly R. Scots Greys, Lt.-Col.; Staff
V 1900*****Toynbee, G. E. (C.M.G., C.B.E.), Bt. Major, R.A.S.C.
R 1908 †Traill, A., Capt., R.A.M.C., attd. D. of Wellington's Regt.

R 1911 Traill, R. R., Capt., R.A.M.C.
D 1904**‡Travers, B. (A.F.C.), Major, R.A.F.
D 1910 ‡Travers, F., Capt., 7th The Queen's & Labour Corps
V 1900 *Trechmann, O. L., Major, R.G.A.
D 1909 †Tree, C. J., Lt., 9th Worcestershire Regt.
g 1907 Trèfusis, D. R. (M.C.), Major, R. Horse Guards, attd. Guards M.G. Regt.
B 1900***Trench, A. H. Chenevix (C.I.E., M.C.), Lt.-Col., R.E.
V 1903**Trench, C. F. (D.S.O.), Capt., 7th Hariana Lancers
B 1905*†Trench, C. R. C., Major, Sherwood Foresters
R 1908 Trench, H. C., Capt., 5th The Rifle Brigade, attd. I.A.
V 1917 ‡Trench, W. F. O., Lt., R.A.F.
H 1916 Trenchard-Davis, C. (M.C.), Lt., 1st attd. 8th R. West Kent Regt.
V 1906 *Trend, J. B., Lt., R.G.A.
V 1915‡‡Tress, P. H. M., Lt., 2nd Seaforth Highlanders
S 1895 Trevor, C. T., Lt., R.G.A.
W 1886***‡Tringham, A. M. (D.S.O., O.B.E.), Bt. Lt.-Col., 2nd The Queen's
D 1903 †Tripp, H., Capt., 3rd E. Surrey Regt., attd. R. Berks. Regt.
S 1882 Tristram, F. T., Major, 18th Yorkshire Regt.
B 1896 Tritton, L. J., Capt., West Somerset Yeomanry
B 1892 Tritton, O., Major, R.F.A.
R 1902 Trollope, F. H. M., Capt., 1st Queen's Westminster Rifles
R 1902 †Trollope, P. G. H., Lance-Corporal, 2nd Queen's Westminster Rifles
g 1909 *Trotter, P. C., Lt., 2nd Welsh Guards & Guards M.G.R.
V 1886****‡‡Troyte-Bullock, C. J. (D.S.O.), Bt. Lt.-Col., Somerset L.I., attd. M.C.C.
L 1915 †Trustram, R. P. (M.C.), Lt., R.F.A.
S 1899 Tuckwell, E. H. (M.C.), Capt., 4th Grenadier Guards
S 1901 Tuckwell, G. R., Lt., 5th attd. 4th The Queen's
S 1903 ‡Tuckwell, N. L., Lt., 1st East Surrey Regt.
H 1901 Tuff, B., Lt., R.N.V.R.
P 1913‡‡Tully, H., Capt., R.M.L.I.
P 1917 †Tully, R. L., 2nd Lt., 4th attd. 12th Northumb. Fusiliers
G 1897 Tunstill, H. G., Capt., 10th Duke of Wellington's Regt.
g 1908 *Turnbull, O. G. N. (M.C.), Capt., R.A.S.C.
L 1916 Turner, F. N., Lt., 3rd Coldstream Guards
L 1899 †Turner, H. C., Lt., 3rd Duke of Cornwall's L.I.
L 1902 Turner, H. N. N., 2nd Lt., R.A.S.C.
D 1913 †Turner, J. C., Lt., R.A., attd. R.F.C.
B 1915 Turner, J. R. B. (M.C.), Lt., R.F.A.
V 1896*†Turner, N. P. J., Capt., South Wales Borderers, attd. 2nd The Welsh Regt.
B 1914 †Turner, R. B., Lt., 3rd Cheshire Regt.
S 1905 Tweedie, H. A. (A.F.C.), Major, R.A.F.; Staff
P 1912 †Tweedy, T. C., Capt., 6th Northumberland Fusiliers
W 1906***Tyer, A. A. (M.V.O., Belgian Croix de Guerre), Capt., R.F.A.
G 1910*†Tyler, A., Lt., R.E.
S 1891 *Tyler, F. C. (O.B.E.), Major, R.F.A. (Experimental Staff)
G 1893***Tyrrell, G. G. M. (D.S.O., Legion of Honour), Lt.-Col., 5th (R. Irish) Lancers, attd. 21st Corps Cavalry Regt.
V 1884 Tyrwhitt-Drake, B. H., Major, British Columbia Regt.

V 1908 Uloth, A. W. (M.C.), Major, R.A.M.C.
G 1914 Umney, J. H. (M.C.), 2nd Lt., R.A.F.

V 1889*‡‡‡Uniacke, E. W. P. (D.S.O.), Major, 2nd King Edward's Horse
g 1906 Usher, J. T., Lt., 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons
G 1916 Ussher, A., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
B 1916 Vaizey, J. T. de H., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
H 1910 ‡Van der Pant, L. H., Capt., 4th East Surrey Regt.
g 1874 Vane, Sir F. P. Fletcher (Bart.), Major, 9th R. Munster Fusiliers
G 1877**Vane, Hon. W. L., Lt.-Col., 6th Durham L.I.
V 1883 Vanrenen, G. R. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 16th Rajputs
G 1892 †Vassall, P. S., Capt., 7th Gloucestershire Regt.
H 1905 Vatcher, H. M. (M.C.), Capt., R.E.
G 1897*‡Vaudrey-Barker-Mill, J. H. (M.C.), Capt., M.G.C.
G 1901 ‡Vaudrey-Barker-Mill, T. R. S., 2nd Lt., 6th The Rifle Bde.
S 1873 Vaughan, H. B., Bt. Col., formerly Indian Army ; Staff
B 1907*‡*p*Vaughan, R. M. (M.C.), Capt., 2nd R. Inniskilling Fusiliers & R.F.C.
R 1890 Vaughan-Williams, R. (Mus. Doc.), Pte., R.A.M.C.
V 1891*‡Veal, C. L., formerly The Welsh Regt., Major; Staff
g 1901 *Veal, R. M. S., Major, R.A.F.
L 1882 †Venables, C. J. (D.S.O.), Major, 1st Gloucestershire Regt.
L 1891 Venables, W. A., Capt., formerly 4th Glouc. Regt. ; Staff
D 1890 Vere de Vere, R. S., Lt., 5th R. Sussex Regt. ; Staff
V 1900**Vere-Hodge, H. S., Bt. Major, Tonbridge O.T.C.
S 1914‡‡Vernon, H. B. (M.C.), Lt., 1st Grenadier Guards
S 1912 †Vernon, H. D., Lt., 3rd Grenadier Guards
B 1902 Vesey, FitzGerald, S. G., 2nd Lt., I.A.R.O.
W 1879 *Versturme-Bunbury, H. P., Lt.-Col., formerly The R. Scots ; Base Commandant, East Africa
B 1911 Vibart, H. H. R., Lt., R.A.S.C.
S 1909 Vickers, L. D., Lt., 5th The Queen's
S 1905 ‡Vickers, W. E., Pte., 2/9th Northumberland Fusiliers
S 1897 Vigors, E. C., Capt., Special List
g 1895***Villiers-Stuart, P. (D.S.O., Legion of Honour), Lt.-Col., R. Fusiliers, attd. 7th Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
B 1917 ‡Vintcent, H. N. (M.C.), 2nd Lt., 2nd Coldstream Guards
B 1916 ‡Vintcent, St. J., 2nd Lt., R.F.C.
R 1913 Vizard, W. G., Major, Dorsetshire Regt. ; Staff
V 1915‡‡Vlasto, A. G., Lt., R.G.A., attd. R.A.F.
L 1902**Vlasto, Ivan T. (M.C.), Capt., R.A.S.C.
S 1896 Vlasto, J. A. (M.C.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
P 1890*‡von Essen Moberly, C., Major, 11th Hussars & 3rd Res. Cav.
g 1912 †Vowler, E. M., 2nd Lt., 2nd Duke of Cornwall's L.I.
V 1893 ‡Vyvyan, R. N., Major, R.A.F. (Tech.)

H 1888 Wace, C., Capt., R.A.M.C.
H 1886 Wace, Rev. H. C., Major, Oxford University O.T.C.
P 1906 Wackerbarth, H. P., Capt., A.P.D.
G 1884 Waddington, C. W. (C.I.E., M.V.O.), Lt.-Col., I.A.R.O.
W 1890 Wade, R. R. (M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
S 1881 Wadham, A. E. M., Capt., Westmorland & Cumb. Yeo.
S 1880 *Wadham, W. F. A. (V.D.), Lt.-Col., 4th R. Lanc. Regt.
d 1865 Wadmore, A. H. T., Lt.-Col., R.A.S.C. ; Asst. Insp. of Steel
S 1884***Waggett, E. B. (D.S.O., T.D.), Major, R.A.M.C.
S 1880**Waggett, Rev. P. N., Chaplain
S 1904 *Wagstaffe, W. W. (O.B.E.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
G 1881 *Wake, E. St. A. (C.M.G.), Lt.-Col., formerly I.A. ; Staff
S 1889 *Wakefield, W. H., Sergt., Sportsman's Batt., R. Fusiliers

D 1897******†Walcot, B. (D.S.O., Legion of Honour), Major, R.E.
R 1911 Wale, N. G., Lt., 1st attd. 10th The Buffs
G 1915 Walford, J. R. C., Lt., R.F.A.
V 1910 †Walford, O. R., 2nd Lt., 1st Hampshire Regt.
G 1914 †Walford, W. G., Capt., R. Monmouth, R.E., attd. R.A.F.
D 1911*†Walker, E. W. (D.S.O.), Capt., 7th R. Welsh Fusiliers
V 1895 ‡Walker, T. A., Lt., R.N.V.R.
S 1904 ‡Wallace, A. M., Capt., 8th Gordon Highrs. & I.A.R.O.
H 1907*****Wallace, C. J. (D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., Croix de Guerre), Bt. Major, 2nd Highland L.I.
S 1898****‡Wallace, R.F.H. (C.M.G., Order of Leopold, French & Belgian Croix de Guerre), Bt. Lt.-Col., The Black Watch
G 1900 Waller, H. K., Capt., R.A.M.C.
S 1909 †Waller, H. N., Capt., 4th Duke of Wellington's Regt.
H 1910 Waller, J. C., 2nd Lt., 9th East Surrey Regt.
V 1899 *Waller, N. H. (M.C., T.D.), Major, 5th Gloucester Regt.
H 1906 Waller, W. W., Capt., R.A.M.C.
L 1892 Wallis, J. A., Capt., Lancs. Fusiliers; Min. of Munitions
S 1913‡‡Walter, C. H. (M.C.), Capt., 5th Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
D 1917 Walter, P. F. A., 2nd Lt., R.G.A.
B 1913 Walters, A. M., Lt., 3rd Reserve Regt. of Hussars
H 1880 Walters, P. M., Capt., Inns of Court O.T.C.
V 1893 ‡Walthall, B. J. D., formerly Capt., R.M.L.I., Pte., 4th Central Ontario Regt.
V 1891******Walthall, E. C. W. D. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour, Croix de Guerre), Brigadier-General, R.A.
V 1894 *Walthall, H. D. D. (O.B.E.), Capt., R.A.S.C.
g 1895 Walton, F. J., Major, Montgomeryshire Yeomanry
G 1884 Walton, H. J. (M.D.), Major, Indian Medical Service
D 1905 Wanless O'Gowan, L., Capt., 10th The Cameronians & R.A.F.
g 1893 Ward, C. B., Capt., 3rd W. Riding Bde., R.F.A.
G 1909 Ward, D. E., Capt., 7th London Regt., & R.A.F.
S 1911 Ward, R., Pte., P.S.B., R. Fusiliers
P 1893 Ward, W. H., Lt., 10th W. Yorks. Regt. & Gen. List R.T.O.
S 1910 Ward, W. N., Lt., 5th Worcestershire Regt.
P 1886 Warden, A., Lt., R.G.A.
R 1902 Wardle, C. E., Lt.-Col., R.A.F.; Staff
R 1907 Wardle, W. C., Major, R.A.S.C.
g 1916 †Ware, W., 2nd Lt., 1st R. Welsh Fusiliers
W 1899 †Warne, W. M., Lt., R.G.A.
S 1893 Warren, R. (M.D.), Major, R.A.M.C.
R 1902**‡Warrens, E. R. C. (D.S.O.), Major, 4th Lond. Bde., R.F.A.
D 1883 *Warry, E. A. B., Major, 11th Somerset L.I. & Labour Corps
L 1902 †Wartnaby, C. R. A., Lt., Northamptonshire Yeomanry
g 1895***Warwick, H. B. (D.S.O.), Bt., Lt.-Col., R.A.O.C.
g 1897 *Warwick, P. H. (D.S.O., T.D.), Lt.-Col., South Notts. Hussars, attd. M.G.C.
W 1907**†Waterhouse, A. W. (M.C.), Capt., 1st (Royal) Dragoons
g 1903 Waterhouse, T. G., Lt., R.A.F. (Tech.)
W 1902 *Waterlow, G. W., Major, D.A.D., Railway Traffic
W 1885 *Waterlow, J. F. (D.S.O., T.D.), Lt.-Col., 4th The Border Regt.
G 1895 ‡Waters, R. S. (O.B.E.), Major, 40th Pathans
H 1910 Watkins, W. B., Capt., 1st Welsh Bde., R.F.A.

L 1882****Watson, Sir H. D. (K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., M.V.O., Legion of Honour, Italian Orders of St. Maurice & St. Lazarus & of the Crown), Indian Army; Major-General
V 1913‡‡Watson, H. G., Capt., 18th Manchester Regt. & R.A.F.
g 1890 Watson, H. G., Capt., R.A.S.C.
D 1914 †Watson, J. E., 2nd Lt., 7th R. Scots Fusiliers
S 1893**‡‡Watson, J. H., Major, 13th Lancers (Watson's Horse)
g 1892 *Watson, J. W. (C.I.E.), Lt.-Col., Indian Medical Service
L 1877****Watson, W. A. (C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., Order of the Nile), Indian Army; Major-General
g 1890 *Watson-Gandy, W. D. P. (M.C.), formerly R. Scots Greys, Bt. Major; Staff
B 1897 *Watt, A. H. (M.C.), Major, South Irish Horse
G 1903 Watts, R. A. B. P., Capt., 1st Somerset L.I.
V 1910 *p*Waud, C. W. H. P., Lt., 11th The Queen's
V 1917 Waud, P. F. B. P. R., Midshipman, H.M.S. *Queen Elizabeth*
d 1899**‡‡‡Wauhope, G. B. (D.S.O., Order of the Nile), Bt. Lt.-Col., 1st attd. 15th York & Lancaster Regt.
d 1899 *Wauhope, J. C., Commander, H.M.S. *Asphodel*
S 1899 †Way, G. C., Major, P.S.B., Middlesex Regt.
V 1915 ‡Weare, F. G. C. (M.C.), Capt., The Buffs & R.A.F.
W 1910 †Wearne, K. M., Capt., 1st Essex Regt.
W 1917 Wearne, W. R., Lt., 1st Grenadier Guards
V 1881 Webb, A. E., Lt.-Col., Indian Army
S 1905 †Webb, P. E., 2nd Lt., R.E.
g 1906*‡*p*Webber, H., Capt., 3rd Wiltshire Regt.
L 1902 Webber, L. M. (Ordre du Mérite Agricole), Major, R.F.A.; Assistant Director of Agricultural Production
G 1892*****‡Weber, W. H. F. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Croix de Guerre), Lt.-Col., R.F.A.
B 1915 *Wedderburn-Maxwell, H. G., Capt., R.F.A.
B 1915 †Wedderburn-Maxwell, James, 2nd Lt., 6th K.O.S.B.
B 1912***Wedderburn-Maxwell, John (M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
V 1905*‡Weeks, L. M. (M.C.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
V 1909***Weeks, R. M. (D.S.O., M.C., with Bar, Croix de Guerre), Bt. Major, The Rifle Brigade
g 1875 Weigall, Rev. G., Chaplain
P 1883 Weir, F. R. S., Lt., 11th Northumberland Fusiliers
V 1905 †Welch, W. G. F., Lt., R.F.A.
P 1879*†Weldon, Sir A. A. (Bart., C.V.O., D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 4th Leinster Regt.
V 1896***Weldon, H. W. (D.S.O., Croix de Guerre), Lt.-Col., 2nd Leinster Regt.
V 1910**‡Wellesley, H. A. (M.C. with Bar), Capt., 5th Gurkhas
D 1885*******Wellesley, R. A. C. (C.B., C.M.G.), Brig.-Gen., R.A.
R 1900**Wells, C. A. (O.B.E.), Bt. Major, 3rd Hampshire Regt.
V 1904‡*p*Wells, R. C., Capt., R.E.
H 1911 †Wenden, G., Capt., 3rd The Border Regt., attd. R.F.C.
V 1910 *Wenham, C. H., Capt., 14th The Rifle Brigade
V 1912‡‡Wenham, E. H., Capt., R.F.A.
V 1909 Wenham, J. H., 2nd Lt., Suffolk Yeomanry
L 1911 Wesley Smith, H., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
L 1914 Wesley Smith, T., 2nd Lt., R.F.A.
R 1915 ‡Westendarp, H. E. A., Lt., West Kent Yeomanry, attd. R. West Kent Regt.
L 1909 Whadcoat, C. C., Lt., 14th (King's) Hussars
L 1909 Whadcoat, D. D., Corporal, Australian Infantry

S 1909 Wharton, A. F., Capt., 5th Hampshire Regt.
S 1912 †Wharton, G. FitzG., Lt., 2nd Durham L.I., attd. 1st K.O. Yorkshire L.I.
V 1909 ‡Whelon, E. G., Capt., R. Sussex Regt., & R.A.F.
G 1894**‡Whigham, J. C. (M.C.), Major, 2nd R. Scots Fusiliers
G 1911*‡Whinney, C. T. (M.C.), Lt., 11th Middlesex Regt.
G 1905*†Whinney, F. S. (M.C., Belgian Croix de Guerre), Capt., 2nd Lincolnshire Regt.
W 1891 Whinney, F. T., Major, 4th The Queen's
g 1891 Whitaker, B., Lt., Oxfordshire Hussars
G 1910 ‡Whitaker, C. F., Capt., I.A.R.O.
V 1897 Whitby, H. F., Major 19th Lancers (Fane's Horse)
g 1914 White, A. E., Capt., R.E.
V 1907 ‡White, B., Lt., General List, attd. Indian Army
L 1894 White, C. F. O., Capt., R.A.M.C.
D 1913 ‡White, H. V., Lt., 1st W. Riding Bde., R.F.A.
L 1890 White, J. D. C. (M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
S 1902 ‡White, Hon. L. H. (M.C., Legion of Honour), Capt., 11th Hussars
L 1914 White, L. H. A., Lt., Durham R.G.A.
V 1895 White, R. G., Capt., R.A.S.C.; Egyptian Camel Transport
L 1912 White, R. J. A., Paymaster Sub-Lt., R.N.V.R.
G 1911*†White, W. (M.C.), Lt., 2nd Bedfordshire Regt.
G 1900 ‡Whitehead, A. O., Lt., 1st Grenadier Guards
G 1898*†Whitehead, C. H. T., Major, 56th Punjabis, attd. 10th Highland L.I.
H 1876 Whitehead, G. F., Lt.-Col., 1st R. Guernsey Militia
W 1914*†Whitehead, H. M., Lt., 8th R. Sussex Regt.
G 1895‡‡Whitehead, L. D., Capt., Monmouthshire Regt.
W 1907 †Whitehead, P. N. (M.C., M.S.M.), Capt., R.E.
B 1894 Whitehouse, J. H., 2nd Lt., Garrison Batt., Suffolk Regt.
W 1903 Whitelegge, C. H., Capt., R.A.S.C.
R 1911 Whiteley, F. H., Lt., R.E.
R 1910*‡Whiteley, R. F., Capt., Cheshire Regt.
S 1902 Whitfield, C. S., Lt., R.A.S.C.
G 1906**Whitfield, G. E. (M.C.), Capt., Hertfordshire Regt.
G 1906*†Whitfield, G. H., Lt., I.A.R.O., attd. 14th Sikhs
G 1904 Whitfield, Rev. J. O., Capt., Shrewsbury O.T.C.
P 1884 Whitham, F. J., Driver, S. African A.S.C.
V 1897 Whitting, R. E. (M.C., M.D.), Capt., R.A.M.C.
S 1900 †Whittle, C. H. S., Lt., 15th (The King's) Hussars
g 1887‡*p*Whitworth, H., Capt., R.A.F.
S 1892 Wigan, W. C., Capt., R.A.M.C., attd. Zomba F.F.
B 1909 Wigg, C. B., Corporal, R.E. (Signals)
S 1916 Wight, G. R., Lt., R.A.F.
S 1895 ‡Wigram, Rev. P. S. (M.C.), Chaplain, attd. 9th H.L.I.
S 1892 Wigram, R., 2nd Lt., 60th Rifles
G 1899*‡Wild, C. H., Major, R. West Kent Regt., attd. 8th Lond. Regt.
S 1909‡*p*Wild, F. J., Lt., East Lancashire Regt.
R 1917 Wild, H. W., 2nd Lt., 2nd Coldstream Guards & Guards M.G. Regt.
V 1892*****Wild, W. H. (D.S.O.), Bt. Lt.-Col., Northumb. Fus.
G 1907 Wiles, H. H., Capt., I.A.R.O.
G 1901 *Wiles, R. L., Lt.-Commander, H.M.S. *Powerful*
W 1903***Wilkie, A. H., Capt., 60th Rifles
W 1897**Wilkin, A., Capt., R.A.M.C.
L 1900 Wilkins, G. F., Lt., R.A.S.C.

S 1891 *a*Wilkinson, B. K. R., Capt., North Staffordshire Regt.
W 1910 Wilkinson, E. H., Lt., R.G.A.
G 1906‡‡Wilkinson, F. H. J., Lt., R.F.A.
G 1912**‡*p*Wilkinson, H. M. (M.C.), Capt., 3rd Cheshire Regt.
P 1911 Wilkinson, M., Lt., R.A.S.C.
H 1912 *Wilks, G. L. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., R.M., attd. Tank Corps
S 1915 *p*Wilks, J. M., Lt., East Lancashire Regt.
H 1909 Wilks, S. B., Capt., R.A.S.C.
S 1907 *Willcocks, R. H., Lt., R.F.A.
Master ‡Willett, B. H., Lt., R.G.A., attd. R.E.
L 1887*****Williams, A. E. (D.S.O.), Lt.-Col., 4th R. Warwick Regt.
L 1915 ‡Williams, A. M., Lt., R.F.A.
B 1907 Williams, A. P., Major, R.A.S.C.
D 1906 †Williams, C. J., Lt., 8th Bedfordshire Regt.
G 1916 Williams, D. E. (M.B.E.), 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
L 1916 Williams, G. E., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
W 1896 †Williams, I. H. J., Capt., 3rd R. Fusiliers
G 1884 *Williams, Jestyn, Major, Monmouthshire Regt.
H 1913 †Williams, J., Capt., 18th Lancashire Fusiliers
W 1912 ‡Williams, J. G., Lt., R.H.A.
W 1893 ‡Williams, M. G. J., Capt., Grenadier Guards
G 1898 Williamson, A. G., Major, 7th Hariana Lancers
V 1914 †Williamson, J. A., Lt., R.E. Kent Yeomanry, attd. R.F.C.
P 1884 Williamson, W. H., formerly 18th Hussars, Capt., 5th Yorkshire Regt.
W 1909 ‡Willis, K. M., Pte., Australian Infantry
W 1910 Willis, N. O., Capt., Somerset L.I.
L 1914 Wills, H. E. M., Lt., 1st Scots Guards
L 1909*‡Wills, M. C. M. (M.C.), Capt., Wessex R.E.
L 1908*†Wills, R. B. M., Capt., Wessex R.E.
L 1906 Wills, W. D. M. (Ordre du Mérite Agricole), Capt., North Somerset Yeomanry
W 1911 †Willson, E. B., Lt., M.G.C.
W 1908 Willson, G. R. S., Lt., R. 5th Sussex Regt.
D 1913 Willson, W. E., Lt., 5th The Queen's
g 1898*‡Wilson, A. B. Hutton, Capt., R.E.
D 1898 Wilson, A. C., 2nd Lt., 18th Middlesex Regt.
g 1891***Wilson, A. H. Hutton (D.S.O., Belgian Order of the Crown & Croix de Guerre, Russian Order of St. Anne, Japanese Order of the Sacred Treasure, Order of the Star of Rumania), Bt. Lt.-Col., Wiltshire Regt.; Staff
P 1908 ‡Wilson, A. P., Capt., 4th The Border Regt.
D 1895 †Wilson, C. E. A., Capt., R.A.M.C., attd. The Rifle Brigade
G 1904 Wilson, E., Lt., R.A.F.
D 1905***Wilson, E. W. G. (M.C., Hellenic Order of The Redeemer), Major, R.F.A.
g 1900 †Wilson, G. Hutton, 2nd Lt., R.E. (Signals)
H 1884**‡Wilson, G. T. B. (D.S.O., Russian Order of St. Stanislas), Bt. Col., Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders
S 1902**Wilson, H. B. (O.B.E., M.D.), Major, R.A.M.C.
R 1917 Wilson, L. F., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
V 1917 Wilson, L. M., Lt., 12th Pioneers, I.A.
D 1902 †Wilson, L. T., 2nd Lt., R.G.A., attd. R.E.
W 1905 †Wilson, R. M., Lt., 6th Loyal North Lancashire Regt.
L 1900 Wilson, W. E., Sergt., P.S.B., R. Fusiliers; R.A.F.
g 1917 Wilson Taylor, C. J., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
S 1915 ‡Wimberley, R. A. A., Lt., Indian Army

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a Died in London, January 24, 1918.

H 1893 Winch, Arthur B. (M.B.E.), Capt., R. West Kent Regt., attd. R.E. (Inland Waterways)
H 1885**Winch, G. B., Lt.-Col., 2nd R. East Kent Yeomanry
H 1894*†Winch, G. B. (D.S.O.), Major, R.F.A.
H 1901**Winch, S. B. (O.B.E.), Major, R.A.O.C.
L 1900*‡Wingate, G. F. R., Major, R.F.A.
L 1903 Wingate, R. C., Lt., R.A.O.C., attd. Canadian Ordn. Corps
g 1906 Wingfield, C. T., Lt., R. Dublin Fusiliers
g 1900******Wingfield, Hon. M. A. (C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour, Italian & Belgian Orders of the Crown, French & Belgian Croix de Guerre), Bt. Lt.-Col., The Rifle Brigade ; Staff
L 1897 ‡Wingfield, M. ff. R., Capt., 3rd Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
H 1897 Winstanley, H. M., Capt., R.A.F. ; Staff
R 1915 *p*Winterbotham, F. W., Capt., R. Glos. Hussars & R.A.F.
W 1912*‡Wise, C. F., Capt., R.F.A.
W 1909 *Wise, H. D. (M.C.), Lt., 18th Hussars
g 1916 Wise, J. D., Midshipman, H.M.S. *Iron Duke*
W 1911 †Wise, L. C., Lt., North Irish Horse, attd. Indian Army
P 1912 ‡Wiseman, A. M. (M.C.), 2nd Lt., The Rifle Brigade
V 1902 Witherington, C. H., Trooper, Indian Defence Force
V 1898 ‡Witherington, H. H., Capt., 3rd The King's (Liverpool Regt.)
G 1900 Withington, B., Lance-Corporal, Lancs. R.E. (Signals)
g 1900 ‡Wolley, H. S. L., Major, 56th Punjabis
g 1914 Wolton, V. H., Capt., 4th Home Counties Bde., R.F.A.
B 1916 Wood, A. H., Lt., 13th Hussars
S 1874 Wood, A. R., Capt., R. Defence Corps
B 1892 †Wood, H. G., Capt., 3rd Loyal North Lancashire Regt.
V 1916 Wood, J., Pte., The Artists' Rifles O.T.C.
V 1909 *Woodbridge, C. F. (M.C.), Major, R.F.A.
V 1907 †Woodbridge, A. S. R., Capt., 10th R. Warwickshire Regt.
S 1914**Woodger, J. S. (O.B.E.), Capt., R.A.S.C.
V 1916 Woodhall, C. R., Sub-Lt., H.M.S. *Gnat*
V 1917 Woodhall, E. L., Midshipman, H.M.S. *Centurion*
H 1902 Woodhouse, Rev. J. W., Chaplain
g 1894 †Woodmass, K. T., Capt., 2nd East Yorkshire Regt.
g 1905 ‡Woodrow, A. B. (M.C.), 2nd Lt., R. Sussex Regt.
g 1916 ‡Woodrow, E. B. (M.C.), Capt., R.F.A.
g 1886 Woods, L. E., Lt., T.F. Res. ; Min. of National Service
W 1902*‡Woods, R. H. (O.B.E., M.C.), Major, 60th Rifles & R.A.F.
D 1909***Woods, W. T. (D.S.O., M.C.), Capt., 5th Manchester R.
L 1915 Woollan, D. F., Lt., 2nd Scots Guards
B 1905*†Workman, E. (M.C.), Lt., 5th attd. 2nd R. Irish Rifles
W 1896 Worley, H., 2nd Lt., R.A.F. (Admin.)
W 1895 Worley, R. H., 2nd Lt., General List
g 1898*****‡Worrall, S. H. (D.S.O., M.C., Legion of Honour), Lt.-Col., 2nd The Border Regt.
L 1900**Worsdell, G. B. (O.B.E.), Bt. Major, Yorkshire Regt., attd. R.E. (Signals)
R 1885 Worthington, H., Bt. Lt.-Col., R.M.A.
L 1902 †Worthington, R. G. (Legion of Honour), Lt., 2nd Oxf. & Bucks. L.I.
G 1893 ‡Worthington, R. T., Major, R.A.M.C.
L 1906 Worthington, T. B., Lance-Corpl., Ceylon Mounted Rifles
L 1907 †Worthington, W. G. (M.C.), Major, 12th London Regt.
G 1892 †Wreford-Brown, C. (D.S.O.), Capt., 2nd Northumberland Fusiliers
G 1886 Wreford-Brown, C., Lt., 3rd Grenadier Guards

G 1893 Wreford-Brown, Rev. G., Chaplain
G 1896 †Wreford-Brown, O. E., Capt., 9th Northumberland Fus.
G 1882** Wreford-Brown, W. H., Major, formerly Essex Regt.; Staff
H 1906 †Wright, Charles, Lt., Lincolnshire Yeomanry
S 1904 Wright, Clifton (M.C.), Lt., R.E. (Signals)
B 1904 Wright, Cyril, Lt., 5th East Lancashire Regt.
H 1912 ‡Wright, G. A., Lt., 7th Lincolnshire Regt. & Indian Army
S 1913 *p* Wright, G. B., Capt., Worcestershire Hussars
B 1915 ‡Wright, L. E. L., Lt., R.F.A.
B 1892 Wrightson, W. I., Lt., 5th Durham L.I.
D 1908 Wrigley, A., Lt., R.A.S.C.
W 1887 Wrigley, J. H., Major, Denbighshire Hussars
D 1890 Wybergh, J. H., Major, 1st Sherwood Foresters
L 1899 Wykeham-Musgrave, H. P., Lt., R.F.A.
V 1909* ‡Wykes, G. N. (M.C.), Capt., 1st Leicestershire Regt.
V 1906 *Wykes, P. R., Capt., 5th Leicestershire Regt.
g 1889 Wyman, R. (T.D.), Major, 4th Welsh Bde., R.A.
V 1905 †Wynne-Jones, M., Lt., R.E.
g 1878 Wynyard, E. G. (D.S.O., O.B.E.), Major, Labour Corps

L 1883 †Yates, H. B. (M.D.), Lt.-Col., Canadian A.M.C.
G 1914 Yates, H. E., 2nd Lt., R.A.F.
G 1899 Yeames, A. H. S. (Legion of Honour), Hon. Capt., Special Service
S 1898 Young, B. W. D., Lt., Recruiting Officer
L 1914 Young, C. E., Capt., R.A.F.
S 1883 Young, F. H., Major, R.G.A.
H 1912 †Young, H. H., 2nd Lt., 3rd R. Fusiliers
G 1914 ‡*p* Young, J. G., Capt., Leinster Regt., attd. R.A.F.
L 1913 †Young, S. V., 2nd Lt., R.E.

CHARTERHOUSE O.T.C.

*Bt. Lt.-Col. F. W. B. Smart (T.D.) Capt. Rev. F. G. Forder; Capt. A. L. Irvine; Lt. N. L. Chignell; 2nd Lt. W. A. Nayler; 2nd Lt. E. D. C. Lake

BELGIAN ARMY

d 1917 Bastin, M. J. P.
V 1916 Boelens, G. E., Gunner, 3rd Battery, Artillery
S 1917 ‡de Crane, L. A. J., Gunner, Artillery
g 1918 Nachtergaele, W.
S 1878 Reeve, D'A. W. (formerly R.A.), Lt.
S 1916 †Remy, J. F. M.
d 1916 Tiéchon, P. G.

FRENCH ARMY

D 1915 Abbott, W. F. (formerly 2nd Lt., 4th E. Surrey Regt.), Conducteur, Croix Rouge
W 1892 Baerlein, H. B. P., Conducteur, Croix Rouge, 7th Army
G 1913** †Brolemann, P. (Croix de Guerre avec palme), Sous-Lt., 12e Cuirassiers à pied
P 1909 Carruthers, R. B., Corps de transport
B 1915 Charretier, A. T., Artillerie
B 1886 Garner Smith, G. (Croix de Guerre), Croix Rouge

W 1902 ‡Hunter, J. W., Croix Rouge, attd. 2nd Army
g 1895 Kessler, A. F. H., Interpreter, attd. B.E.F.
L 1912 †Rooper, R. B. (Croix de Guerre avec palme), Conducteur, Croix Rouge
L 1880 Watson, H. N. (Croix de Guerre), Conducteur, Marlborough College Ambulance

RUMANIAN ARMY

W 1905 †Campbell, I. S. (Order of the Crown of Rumania), Medical Corps

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

P 1907 Gibson, W. L. Gordon, Ensign, U.S.S. *Olympia*
V 1896 Hopkins, M. J., Capt., U.S. Engineers
R 1912 Kauffmann, A. L., Ensign, U.S. Naval Flying Corps
B 1903 Leedam-Bennett, E., Pte., 325th Infantry

THE FOLLOWING WERE CADETS AT THE DATE OF SIGNING OF THE ARMISTICE

w=R.M.A., Woolwich. *s*=R.M.C., Sandhurst.
q=Quetta Cadet College

G 1916 *q*Allum, E. E., Indian Army
D 1917 Anketell, H. D. B., R.A.F.
V 1918 *q*Bain, R. E., Indian Army
H 1918 Barlow, V. H., R.A.
H 1918 *s*Bedford, J. G.
S 1917 *s*Beeching, T. H. P., R. West Kent Regt.
S 1918 *q*Birnie, E. St. J., Indian Army
P 1917 *w*Blagden, W. M., R.E.
L 1918 Blaker, R., Grenadier Guards
g 1891 Branston, B. G., The Artists' Rifles O.T.C.
g 1917 Brooks, R. L., Guards M.G. Regt.
g 1917 Burberry, A. R., R.A.F.
g 1917 Burberry, R. A., R.A.F.
G 1918 Burgoyne, J. F., Tank Corps
W 1918 *s*Butterworth, J. H.
H 1918 Cannon, S., R.F.A.
S 1918 Cartwright, G., Grenadier Guards
L 1918 *s*Coleman, H. F.
R 1918 Cox, R. C., R.G.A.
L 1918 Crompton, C. F., R.G.A.
S 1918 *w*Dalrymple, D., R.F.A.
B 1918 *w*Dickson, J. K.
L 1918 Dodd, T. A., J. M., Grenadier Guards
S 1894 Dyne, J. B., R. Fusiliers
H 1918 Dyson, H., R.A.F.
W 1918 Edge, G. J. R., R.E.
S 1917 *s*Erskine, Hon. D. C. F., 9th Lancers
R 1908 Figg, C. H., R.G.A.
R 1916 Fiske, G. S., R.A.F.
G 1918 Francis, D. G., R.F.A.
R 1918 Fraser, P. A., Reserve Cavalry

H 1917 *s*Gairdner, K. D.
V 1918 Gardner, H. G., R.F.A.
L 1917 *w*Gauntlett, F. L.
V 1918 Goodsir, D. A., R.F.A.
G 1918 Graves, C. P. R., R. Irish Regt.

R 1918 Hancock, F. J., R.A.F.
L 1917 Harland, P. J. B., Middlesex Regt.
W 1918 Hogg, R. C., Apprentice in Merchant Service
L 1917 Hollins, H., The Rifle Brigade
V 1918 Horne, G. N.
G 1917 *s*Howard, G., 4th Hussars
D 1918 Hughes, R. A. W., R.E.

H 1917 Jackson, B. N.

G 1918 *s*Kekwick, J. F.
L 1918 Kent, H. H., Royal Navy

P 1917 *w*Latter, M. P.
R 1899 Lawson, C. C. P., R.A.S.C.
g 1918 Lewns, L. R., R.A.F.

S 1918 *s*McGaw, A. J. T.
W 1914 Macgowan, G. T. C., R.A.F.
G 1917 *s*Macgregor, R. N. C., R. Fusiliers
D 1917 Mendel, G. A., Inns of Court O.T.C.

G 1918 Nathan, E. I., R.F.A.
V 1918 Nathan, H. F.
D 1917 *s*Nicholson, F., Lincolnshire Regt.
H 1917 Norris, L. R., The Queen's

W 1918 Ottley, R. C. D., Inns of Court O.T.C

D 1918 Peacock, D. J. T., R.F.A.
G 1918 Pendock, H. V. M., The Rifle Brigade
G 1917 Pettyfer, A. O. C., Indian Army
V 1918 Pilley, W. McN.
L 1917 *s*Pim, G. C., Scots Guards
R 1918 *s*Platt Higgins, D. M.
S 1917 *s*Poole, R. D., The Rifle Brigade

G 1917 *s*Rawlins, H. S., Indian Army
S 1918 *w*Robertson, I. G., R.F.A.
Master Round, F. H., The Queen's
g 1918 Rucker, P. W., Coldstream Guards
D 1918 Russell Smith, J., R.E.

S 1918 *s*Scott Miller, J. S.
P 1917 Shepherd, R. O., R.G.A.
V 1917 Sladden, J., R.A.F.

H 1917 *w*Taylor, H. M.
B 1918 Thal, R. M., R.G.A.
S 1918 Thorne Thorne, R. J., R.A.F.
W 1918 *q*Thorp, R. A. F., Indian Army
R 1918 Tomalin, H. R., Imperial Yeomanry
B 1916 *s*Tulloch, A. A. G.

H 1916 Venn, J., R.F.A.
S 1918 Vernon, J. S., Grenadier Guards
S 1917 *s*Vickerman, J. F.

H 1917 Walters, H. M., Guards M.G. Regt.
G 1918 *s*Watson, G. A.

P 1918 Wedderburn Ogilvy, D. S., Royal Navy
D 1918 Wells, J. M., R.F.A.
H 1918 Whalley, R. H., R.A.F.
G 1918 Whinney, H. C. D.
R 1918 White, G. C., Inns of Court O.T.C.
V 1918 Williams, H. R. H., R.F.A.
V 1917 Wood, C. W. G., Duke of Wellington's Regt.
D 1917 *w*Wooldridge, J. W. T., R.F.A.

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